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RESOLUTIONS AND REPORTS

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THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR

REVIEWED BY CLARENCE HATHAWAY

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Wall Street Pushes the Country into War. Who Endangers the Peace of America? An Imperialist Conception of National Defense. National Ruination. Hillman's Role on the National Defense Commission. Social-Reformism Collaborates With Imperialism. Republicans and Democrats on the War Question. Differences Among the Bourgeoisie and Labor's Independent Course. What Do the Masses Think of National Defense? Healthy Instincts and Some Erroneous Ideas. Mistaking War Preparations for National Defense. The Big Job of Explaining. How Can Labor Lead the Struggle for the True Defense of the Nation? The C.I.O. Formulates Its Position on National Defense. Can Labor Cooperate With the War-Makers? Compromises and "Compromises." A Serious Political Mistake of a Special Kind. What To Do? Communist National Convention Outlines Course.

IT CAN no longer be disputed that Wall Street and President Roosevelt's Administration are dragging this country into the second imperialist war at a pace which is accelerated daily if not hourly. It is being done with the "step by step" method, as was signalized by the Communist Party at the outbreak of the war in Europe last September. Since then the haste of the warmongers has immeasurably increased, and so has their audacity and brazenness. They seek to stampede the country into war and to place the people *immediately* on a war basis. And they are already doing it.

Reflecting Wall Street's desires and intentions, David Lawrence puts the matter like this:

"Gradually, step by step, America is drifting toward a state of defense which will be equivalent to a war basis. Instead of declaring war, Congress, by a series of specific authorizations will empower the Executive to defend the United States and its vital interests." (*The Sun*, June 10.)

Noteworthy here is the conception of "defense" which Wall Street is aiming at. It is a state of defense "*which will be equivalent to a war basis.*" In plainer words, this means to develop and establish in the country, as rapidly as the people will allow, a military war regime of reactionary dictatorship, able to ride roughshod over the economic standards and political rights of the masses, and capable of getting the country actually into the war the instant Wall Street gives the word.

David Lawrence elaborates this business as follows:

"America may hold her powder till she sees the whites of the enemies' eyes, but the demand of th

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nation, as reflected in manifestations of public opinion from coast to coast, is to waste no time arguing about the need for the largest army, the largest navy and the largest air force that can be built in the shortest possible time. This means sacrifices on every side by every group and every party—concessions to the defense program which, before the summer is over, will overshadow everything else in the country as the nation, reluctant to go to war, prepares for sudden war on any front." (*Ibid.*)

This is what the warmongers are aiming at. This is what the Administration of President Roosevelt is trying to put across with its program of so-called "national defense." Can there still be any doubt about it? And yet Sidney Hillman has the audacity to call upon labor to support President Roosevelt's "defense" program.

Sidney Hillman, now a member — the "labor" member — of the President's National Defense Commission, still tips his hat to peace. Why not? It costs nothing while helping to befuddle the masses and to stampede them into accepting the war program of the imperialists. But even of peace he speaks in a very peculiar and left-handed manner.

"I am sure," he told the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "that it is the wish of every member of our organization that we be permitted to remain at peace and make our contribution as a nation at peace."

Permitted—by whom? Who is it that doesn't permit us to remain at peace? And how can American labor, in alliance with all working people, fight for peace most successfully? These are very important questions, the most important ones facing the American people at the present time. Did Sidney Hillman answer these questions truthfully and honestly? No, he did not. Instead, he sought to lead the masses *away* from the right answer. What he said was—

"But we also express our determination to do everything within our power to support the President in a program of defense that will not permit surprises by those gangster leaders.

"I hope that there will be none among us or in the country who will permit themselves to be lulled into a false sense of security, which unfortunately democratic countries abroad allowed themselves to do."

So, here you have it. There are "gangster leaders" running wild abroad (presumably, none of them are to be found in the United States), and this threatens to confront this country with "surprises." For this we must be prepared. And the way to do it is "to support the President in a program of defense." Very simple and neat. But the workers, including the members of Hillman's own union, have a lot of questions to ask about it. They are being asked already.

One of them is this: Where does the danger to the nation's security come from? It is generally felt by the masses that the security of the American people and the security of the country are being undermined and endangered, and the danger is growing more acute with the exten-

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sion of the second imperialist war which is turning into a world war before our very eyes. Are these feelings among the masses justified? Absolutely so. The imperialist war now in progress, and the acute danger of the United States being drawn into it, are the most immediate and direct sources of the growing national insecurity of the American people. And this is the main fact to start from.

It isn't true, as Mr. Hillman wants us to believe, that the danger to the national security of the American people arises solely from "those gangster leaders" abroad, if by these are meant just Hitler and Mussolini. The danger arises most immediately from the *imperialist* war, from the predatory war to redivide the world, from the war which the imperialists of all capitalist countries have helped to bring about. But this is only one side of the answer. The other side is that the imperialists of the United States, our "own" imperialists, are seeking to exploit this war for their own narrow and selfish aggrandizement. They, our "own" imperialists, are happy about this war. They want it to continue and to spread, despite all their protestations to the contrary. Because: it offers them war profits, ever-mounting profits; it gives them the long-awaited opportunity to impose upon the masses of the American people, under the guise of "national" defense, a military regime of reactionary dictatorship with which to drive down their living standards and destroy their civil liberties; it enables them to reach out abroad for power and domination over other peoples and countries—in Latin America, in the Far East and in the world generally; it inspires them with the hope that in this way they will find an imperialist and capitalist solution for the ever-deepening general crisis of the capitalist system in the United States.

All of this endangers the national security and well being of the American people. But it is *all of this* and not just "those gangster leaders" abroad.

It is time to begin to realize that the greatest enemy of the nation, the destroyer of the nation, is the imperialist bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries, and that the greatest enemy and destroyer of our own nation is our "own" imperialist bourgeoisie and its government.

Mr. Hillman will not deny that the policies of the German imperialist bourgeoisie and of its present government threaten to ruin and destroy the German nation, or that the policies of the Italian imperialist bourgeoisie and of the Japanese are threatening to do the same thing to the Italian and Japanese nations. No, Mr. Hillman will not deny that, because these countries happen to be Wall Street's enemies. Hence, they are also Hillman's and Matthew Woll's and William Green's enemies. Consequently, Hillman can afford to be "objective" about the German, Italian and Japanese imperialist bourgeoisie. He can call them, he is duty bound to call them, "those gangster leaders," so long as Wall Street needs it.

But how about the imperialist bourgeoisie of England and France?

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Is it still possible honestly to deny that the imperialist bourgeoisie of England and France have led and are leading their nations to destruction? It is impossible to deny that fact honestly. Nor is it possible to deny that the leaders of Social-Democracy in those countries (Blum, Faure, Attlee, Morrison) have been and are collaborating "whole-heartedly" with their imperialist bourgeoisie in the pursuance of this course of national ruination. But Mr. Hillman (and the other labor lieutenants of the American imperialist bourgeoisie) will deny it. He will no longer be objective. And why? Because it is now in the interests of Wall Street—in the narrow, selfish and mercenary interests of the economic royalists—to consider England and France as "friends" and to drag this country into the war on the side of the Allies.

It apparently matters little to Hillman that the "friendship" of Wall Street's imperialist warmongers to other countries is of a peculiar and special kind. It is the "friendship" of those who wish "to help" England and France in order to prolong the war so there will be a steadier stream of war orders and mounting profits; it is the "friendship" of those who want to bring this country into the war on the side of the Allies at once so that an internal regime of reactionary and military dictatorship could be established, also at once, to check and destroy labor's influence, to enslave the masses, to reduce their economic standards and nullify their rights; it is the kind of "friendship" for England and France which is opposed even by certain bourgeois circles in the United States, on the ground that joining the war would weaken them in the struggle for the conquest of Latin America and for the extension of American imperialist power in the Far East. It is, to repeat, a "friendship" of Wall Street imperialists which rests on the most narrow, selfish and mercenary interests.

These are the same *kind* of interests which motivated the policies of the Chamberlains and Daladiers and which brought on the war. They are the same interests in the United States which have consistently supported the treacherous policies underlying Munich and Munichism on the international arena while conspiring against and resisting every progressive measure of the New Deal at home. They are finally the same interests which today seek to bring this country immediately into the war on the side of the Allies *for the purpose* of more and larger war profits, *for the purpose* of establishing at once a war regime in the country which will destroy the progressive social achievements of the masses in the last several years, which will hamstring the trade unions and all other progressive organizations of the people, reducing their standards and abolishing their rights. These are the motives behind Wall Street's anxiety to bring this country into the war at once. And this is the policy which is being carried through by the Roosevelt Administration, step by step, under the guise of "national" defense.

The workers should be helped to

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understand clearly that, in calling upon them to support President Roosevelt's "defense" program, Mr. Hillman calls upon them to support and subordinate themselves to Wall Street's program of war abroad and reactionary dictatorship at home. This is the plain truth. It is for the realization of this program, *for the mobilization and dragooning of labor in support of this war program,* that Hillman was appointed to the National Defense Commission. And he will be expected by his patrons to do the "job," in the same general way as Gompers did his under Wilson in the first world imperialist war.

* * *

MR. HILLMAN seems to understand that this is what is expected of him. But he also knows that the masses are opposed to America's entering the war, that they are *suspicious* of the Roosevelt "defense" program, sensing in it a Wall Street weapon to destroy their standards and liberties. So what does Hillman do? He starts out by trying *to lull* the suspicions of the masses. He undertakes to tell them that the dangers to the standards and rights of the masses, which they feel are moving upon them, result not from the "defense" program nor from the Roosevelt Administration, but from other forces, from "the same elements who opposed the New Deal in the past, the anti-labor groups, anti-New Deal groups"; and that "we will oppose these elements who, under the mask of national defense, will try to emasculate and destroy progressive legislation."

Will you really oppose them, Mr. Hillman? Will you sincerely, genuinely and honestly fight all those elements which "will try to emasculate and destroy progressive legislation"? *Deeds are what the workers want, not words.* More than that. It is already imperative to ask this question: what kind of deeds can be expected from your general pro-war position? Positions, you know, have their own logic, a logic which has a way of nullifying the best intentions of the individual.

We must therefore examine this position more closely. And the first point to examine is: Who is it that threatens the economic standards and civil liberties of the masses at the present time? Hillman's answer is: They are "the same elements who opposed the New Deal in the past, the anti-labor groups, the anti-New Deal groups." That is true, *but only part of the truth.* And to tell the workers only a fraction of the truth is to mislead them.

And so, what is that other part of the truth which Mr. Hillman fails to disclose? It is that the New Deal elements in the Roosevelt Administration have themselves *abandoned* the progressive features of the New Deal, have *betrayed* and are betraying daily their own declarations and assumed obligations, have *gone over* to the positions of those "who opposed the New Deal in the past," are becoming the *rallying center* of labor's worst enemies, are seeking to become the *leaders* of the most aggressive anti-labor groups. Is that true? Absolutely true. And the C.I.O. itself, through various declarations of John L. Lewis, its

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president, has taken note of some of these developments, indicating the need for certain new conclusions made necessary by these changes.

Why does Mr. Hillman hide this truth from the workers? Why does he persist in telling them to put their fate in President Roosevelt's hands—in the hands of an Administration which is fighting for leadership in the camp of war and reaction? Is it because Mr. Hillman himself has surrendered to that camp?

Pressed for an answer, Mr. Hillman may choose to point to the fact that the President and his Administration are still insisting on the need of preserving and even continuing the New Deal. Mr. Hillman may point to the further fact that many of the elements which opposed the New Deal in the past still continue to oppose the Administration of President Roosevelt, thus demonstrating that this Administration is still trying to serve the interests of the workers. Yes, he may try to prove all these things, but he will not prove them.

We take one of President Roosevelt's latest declarations, his speech to the graduating class of the University of Virginia (June 10), on the day Italy entered the war. And we quote the portion which Hillman may use for his own defense. It is this:

"We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing efforts to make democracy work within our borders. Yes, we still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life.

"But that, that is a component part of national defense itself."

This is a statement of the "yes, but" kind. Yes, the President said, we will "insist" on economic and social improvements, *but* these will be subordinated to and made to serve the imperialist war preparations. Is this a fair interpretation? Absolutely fair and the only possible one. For the entire speech was *a war speech*. Its main content and intent was to take advantage of Italy's entrance into the war for the purpose of driving the masses "full speed ahead" towards war, war preparations, and a reactionary war regime. And when he did refer, just in a few words, to the need for economic and social improvements, he did so not to stress the real need of such improvements, not to challenge the opponents of such improvements. No, that is not the meaning of his speech. He did so to challenge those who *insist* upon improvements. He challenged those who demand the continuation and preservation of the progressive gains of the working people. He challenged them by saying: Yes, we need to continue and preserve; *but* "national" defense comes first and everything else must be made a part of it and subordinated to it.

In other words, *lip-service* to economic and social improvements, full speed ahead to imperialist war preparations and war, which means the destruction of the social and economic standards as well as civil rights of the masses. And it is for the carrying through of this program among the workers that the

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President has appointed Mr. Hillman to the National Defense Commission.

At this point Mr. Hillman may care to interpose an objection. He may say: But how do you explain the fact that the leading elements of the Republican Party, and all of its aspirants to the Presidency, are just now making one of their main issues against the Roosevelt Administration the charge that it refuses to abandon the New Deal and thus endangers the "national" defense? Doesn't that prove that the Administration has not abandoned the New Deal?

No. It proves something, to be sure, but not that. It proves that the American bourgeoisie is not yet fully satisfied with Roosevelt's *tempo* of abandoning and destroying the progressive features of the New Deal. He moves in the right direction, according to Big Business, but not fast enough. Perhaps that's why the President found it necessary to make his "full speed ahead" speech in Charlottesville, Virginia. That is, *to assure* Big Business that he proposes to accelerate his pace. And it is safe to assume that no matter how fast he will proceed on the road of destroying the progressive social gains of the people Big Business will always demand: faster, faster.

But that is not all. We must never forget that we have in this country *a capitalist two-party system*. This means that one of these capitalist parties, the one that is out of office, must always function as an "opposition," otherwise this system, which has served the bourgeoisie so well, may go to pieces, opening the way for a major party of the people headed by the working class. Thus, regardless of how much or little Big Business may be satisfied with one of its parties in power, the other one, the one that is "out," has to "criticize" and "oppose." On what issues to oppose, by what methods, and how far to go in opposition, that naturally depends upon a large number of concrete circumstances: how much serious division there is in the bourgeoisie itself, how serious are at the moment the mass movements of the people against the policies of the bourgeoisie and how imminent the threat of a major (third) people's party. And all of this depends upon the whole complex of the national and international situation. But at all times, the capitalist party that is "out" will criticize and oppose the capitalist party in power, in one way or another. That is, just so long as the bourgeoisie feels *able* to maintain the two-party system, and finds its maintenance *desirable* for the continuation of its class rule. Therefore, the mere fact that the Republicans are charging the Democrats with "endangering" the national defense by their continuing "adherence" to the New Deal proves absolutely nothing regarding President Roosevelt's *true* position on the question. Only when examined concretely, in the setting of the entire present situation, can we discover the true reasons for these charges. And one of them we have already found. It is the fact that Big Business is not yet fully satisfied with the Administration's present pace of attacking the masses and is using its other party to bring pressure for *acceler-*

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ating that pace. And the additional reason is that the functioning of the two-party system requires that the "outs" should criticize, regardless.

Yet for a full understanding of this question, it is essential to remember that this is *a national election year,* and not an ordinary year but one which finds this country in the midst of the second imperialist war turning into a world war. Desirous of driving this country into the war as soon as possible and anxious to establish a reactionary war regime internally even sooner, Wall Street (which dominates now the ruling cliques of both capitalist parties) faces the question of which of its two parties to bring to power next November. It is obvious that the Wall Street sharks and the war profiteers have few complaints to make on the present Administration's *foreign* policies. And as Mr. Hillman also approves fully these policies, he is doing so in company with Wall Street and the war profiteers.

Thus, on the major issue of the moment—the question of taking America into the war—Wall Street and all warmongers seem inclined to a decision to throw in their full support in the coming elections to President Roosevelt or to whomever he will designate as successor. However, there is Roosevelt's New Deal *past,* his commitments to and ties with the working people of the country which, though weakening and loosening, still exist nevertheless. And this still gives Wall Street certain concern. They ask: Wouldn't these ties and commitments, even though weakened and watered down, which the Democratic Party must continue to cultivate if it is to be returned to power, make it difficult for a new Democratic administration to realize quickly enough Wall Street's reactionary war plans?

On the other hand, reactionary finance capital also understands the *advantages* to be extracted from Roosevelt's New Deal *past,* and precisely for the carrying out of Wall Street's war plans. Just because he still enjoys prestige among the masses on account of the New Deal, even though vanishing prestige, whose real meaning is that the wide masses fear a Republican administration *more* than they do the return of a Roosevelt administration, especially on domestic issues; and just because Roosevelt's New Deal has become a thing of the past, mostly lip-service and not too much of that; just because of these considerations, warmongering Big Business is inclined to take its chance on a third Roosevelt administration on all grounds. But it demands *more guarantees,* tangible and effective guarantees, that, if re-elected, his administration will without hesitation and let-up continue "full speed ahead" with the plans and conspiracies of the war profiteers.

In this scheme of things, Wall Street has for the Republican Party a very definite function to perform. It is, by and large, *to help create and maintain these guarantees,* at the same time seeking to canalize into itself as much of the genuine opposition of the masses as possible. For example, if the Republicans should continue to maintain a steady barrage against the New Deal as en-

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dangering "national" defense, and if they should on this issue secure a firm majority in the lower house of Congress as well as strong supports in state and local elections and if, in addition, they should also impress the people with being a little less anxious than Roosevelt to rush into the war on the side of the Allies thus catching a substantial part of the anti-war vote, then Wall Street, we are sure, would consider the Republican job well done.

* * *

FROM the foregoing it is also clear why Roosevelt and his Administration are still seeking to maintain the old ties with labor and the other working people and progressive groups: the toiling farmers, the Negroes and the youth. To be re-elected Roosevelt needs their votes. And the re-election will be sought (or the election of a "successor") to carry out Wall Street's program of war and reaction, if the country is not dragged into the war before the elections. Hence, Roosevelt's *maneuvers* with his New Deal record. Hence, *his deliberate playing upon the fears of the masses that a Republican would be worse than he on domestic issues.*

Sidney Hillman wants the workers to believe that these political maneuvers of the Administration, this deliberate and cold-blooded playing upon the fears of the masses in order to chain them to Wall Street's war wagon—that these doings constitute genuine and dependable commitments to labor to respect its rights and interests. But how can the two be combined? How can the leader of the war party in the country, the most aggressive exponent of the wishes of Wall Street and the war profiteers at the present time, be expected to respect the rights and interests of labor and of the common people generally?

Let the matter be put very plainly. Roosevelt seeks to bring the country into the war. This is the main reason why Wall Street likes him now. And there are well-grounded suspicions that he may try to put the country in the war on the side of the Allies even before the elections. Mr. Hillman (and Woll and Green) support that policy. But to support a policy which pushes this country into the imperialist war, to satisfy Wall Street and the war profiteers, is to sacrifice the most fundamental and the most vital rights and interests of the common people, and of labor in the first instance. It is a course which leads to the sending of the best sons of the working people of America to die and be maimed on the battlefields of imperialist war in order to help Wall Street get more profits, more power, more domination of other peoples as well as of the people of the United States. And the latter, first of all.

We now ask: how can support for such a course be combined with true national defense? How can it be combined with the defense of the interests and rights of the working people of America who constitute the real American nation? It can't be done. There is an *irreconcilable* contradiction between the two. It is one of those situations where it is either the one or the other. It can't be both.

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Consequently, by accepting and supporting Roosevelt's war policy and his so-called "national" defense program which is to serve *that* policy and no other, Hillman & Co. are *sacrificing* every interest of labor and of all common people, every immediate as well as fundamental interest of the masses. That is what Hillman and Dubinsky and Green are doing. And the appointment of labor men to positions on "defense" committees and commissions, such as the appointment of Hillman, is for the sole purpose of dragooning labor into acceptance and support of Wall Street's war program — by persuasion, intimidation, persecution and terror.

Just think of it: Stettinius and Knudsen of Morgan & Co., together with Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, laboring for the prosecution of Wall Street's war program and at the same time "protecting" the interests of the common people! One can easily imagine the kind of protection the common people will get. It will be the same protection that they received from Samuel Gompers' collaboration with Wilson and Wall Street in the first world imperialist war. It will be the same kind of protection that the British masses are getting from the collaboration of Bevin, Morrison & Co. with Churchill, or from Blum's or Jouhaux' collaboration first with Daladier and now with Reynaud. And let there be no illusions about it.

Hillman & Co. like to point to the opposition of certain bourgeois circles to the Roosevelt Administration "as proof" that the latter is still pro-labor. In the foregoing, we have already discussed certain angles of this point. Yet there is still another one deserving attention. It is, namely, that certain bourgeois circles do not want to see this country rushed into the war too quickly. They fear that the *internal* situation has not yet been prepared sufficiently, from the capitalist point of view, to enable them to make the gigantic effort which the getting into war would require. They further fear that to join the Allies now in the war in Europe would still further expose their imperialist positions in the Far East and in the Pacific to the all too obvious designs of Japanese imperialism. And they also realize that by engaging now in the war in Europe, they will endanger their positions in Latin America; that, at least, they will be unable to prosecute with full energy its conquest which they consider of first-rate importance. And so their spokesmen raise their voices against the country being drawn into the war.

In this sense, and from the general imperialist standpoint of the American bourgeoisie *as a class*, a standpoint common to all capitalist groups and circles, these particular circles of the bourgeoisie and their spokesmen can be said to be in opposition to the aims of Wall Street and the Roosevelt Administration to make America quickly a belligerent on the side of the Allies. That is a fact. And it is quite possible that this particular opposition should become very articulate and energetic for a certain time. But is this any reason why labor should support Roosevelt's program which differs

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in substance not at all from this opposition in domestic policy while pressing for war more immediately? No reason at all. Only warmongers, those interested in bringing this country into the war as soon as possible, have reasons to prefer Roosevelt to those of his bourgeois critics who advocate restraint and a slower tempo of war involvement.

Having said this, the most important thing for the moment, we must also say something else. These bourgeois critics of Roosevelt's war-rush policy are no representatives of labor or the common people generally. From a class point of view, they are just as imperialist and just as much the exploiters and enemies of the people as are the warmongering Wall Street circles and the Roosevelt Administration. In the struggle against war, imperialism and reaction—in the great fight for peace, security and civil rights—labor and its allies can depend only upon their own strength and independent organizations. That is why the building of the people's peace front under working class leadership, most energetically and intensively to meet the growing war danger—to keep America out of war—and to combat the unfolding of the reactionary war regime, that's why this is the main and central task. And to the fulfilment of this task is devoted the election campaign of the Communist Party in accord with the decisions of its Eleventh National Convention. Comrades Browder and Ford—our standard bearers—will lead us in the momentous struggle whose path and objectives are outlined in Comrade Browder's report to the Convention, in the acceptance speeches of our candidates, in the addresses of Comrade Foster, in the formal resolutions and decisions. *This fight of the people against the warmongers must also go on with full speed ahead.*

And in this independent fight of the people for the true defense of the nation and its best interests, wise leadershilp will know how to make full use of the contradictions and divisions in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. To expose these contradictions, to bring them to light, and to explain their true meaning to the masses, this is the first and now the most important step for a correct and skilful utilization of the contradictions and divisions in the bourgeoisie. These may not last very long in the present swiftly moving events, but as long as they operate we must know how to make full use of them. By proper *concentration* against the most reactionary and warmongering circles of monopoly capital and its political representatives, by *differentiated* methods of attack upon the imperialist positions of other bourgeois circles and their spokesmen, always keeping clearly before the masses the correct independent position of the people's peace front and its immediate practical tasks, we shall best be able to promote the independent anti-war mass movements, raising labor's initiative and leadership in them, building the Communist Party as the vanguard party of the working class and its allies.

This is the road to the people's victory over the imperialists and warmongers. And on this road of

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struggle, the systematic exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders, of Social-Democratism in all its forms, is a central and major task.

* * *

DESPITE the terrific campaign of "propaganda," pressure and intimidation carried on by Wall Street and the Government with ever increasing intensity, there are still very few signs that the masses of the working people are letting themselves be stampeded into accepting the war program of the imperialists. On the contrary. By all available evidence, the mass opposition to American involvement in the war continues undiminished although active expression of this opposition does not measure up to the intensity and speed of the imperialists' war drive. And here is a danger point. To organize and bring to active expression, in various forms of demonstration and struggle, the mass opposition to war and war involvement, is the most immediate, most pressing central task.

At the same time, note must be taken of the fact that among the less politically developed and active sections of the working population, the so-called "national" defense campaign is having certain effects. Large numbers of people, whose opposition to American involvement in the war continues unshaken, nevertheless tend to acquiesce in (if not actually accept) the misleading idea that America has to be "prepared" for coming "emergencies" and therefore must undertake a gigantic program of armaments and militarization. True, the masses are not rushing into this proposition very willingly, except certain demoralized groups of the petty bourgeoisie. As to the mass of labor and the toiling farmers, the available evidence shows among them considerable distrust of the "preparedness" hysteria, a fully justified fear that this may be the road of taking the country into the war. But, clearest of all, the masses suspect in this "preparedness" campaign an effort by Wall Street to establish a war regime in the country with which to enslave the people and destroy their standards and rights. And in these distrusts and suspicions the masses are, of course, more than justified. This healthy state of mind of the people presents a splendid basis for the development of a conscious and active opposition to Wall Street's program of war and war preparations in all its manifestations. And this is the first thing to remember.

In going about this task, it has become necessary more than ever before to dissipate certain illusions, to remove certain misunderstandings, to clarify certain errors and mistaken conceptions. It is quite common these days to find people saying something like this: "We are against preparations for war because we are against war, but naturally we are for the defense of our country, and so we are willing to support every measure proved necessary for national defense." And having said so, they proceed to give a certain endorsement (qualified at times, and reserved) to the Administration's plans for war preparation.

Clearly, there is something wrong

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here. People start out sincerely from opposition to war and war preparations and, moved by an honest desire to defend the people and the nation, end up with acquiescing in or approving (even though with qualifications) a program of "national" defense which is nothing of the sort, which is patently a program of war, war preparations and developing internal reaction. How does this come about?

It is obvious that these people are being deceived; deceived by the imperialists and their agents among the masses, especially by the Hillmans, Dubinskys, Wolls, Greens, Thomases, etc., by the social-reformist and Social-Democratic leaders. It is these leaders who are particularly instrumental in trying to make Wall Street's war program more "acceptable" and "palatable" to the suspicious and distrustful masses.

Here, for example, is Norman Thomas blossoming out with his own program of "national" defense (*The Call*, June 8). It begins by saying that "we will undertake no military adventure outside of our own territories," and this looks pretty innocent; but it concludes by saying "unless perhaps in conjunction with our neighbors in this hemisphere who might be attacked"; which already contains the germ of a full-fledged imperialist program of conquering Latin America and waging war against other imperialist powers to secure and retain this conquest. This is point one. Point two is even less masked. It says that "we shall oppose any transfer of colonies in this hemisphere from one European country to another, and any attempt by any European power to establish a naval base in the Caribbean." Of course, this we shall do "in democratic fashion," together with "our Southern neighbors." But the meaning is clear: it is Wall Street's program of conquering the Western hemisphere and of "protecting" it from other imperialist powers. *The wishes and desires of the colonies themselves and their own rights of self-determination do not exist for the "Socialist" Norman Thomas.*

On the basis of "this policy," says Thomas further (point three), we should "determine the actual state of our defense and recommend what we need to make it efficient." This means "efficient" military preparations to conquer and hold the Western hemisphere against all comers. And this is quite a job of imperialist action, as everyone knows. Finally (point four), "we should solemnly pledge ourselves before the whole world to scrap any or all our arms as soon as other nations will return to sanity. Sanity means disarmament." A pious wish, a hypocritical gesture, accompanying a real and substantial program of imperialism and war preparations.

Yet it doesn't *look* the same as Wall Street's program, or Roosevelt's. It is more restrained. It is not hysterical. Above all, it is enveloped in "democratic" phraseology. Where the masses, distrustful and suspicious of Wall Street's warmongering and reaction, will recoil from or object to Roosevelt's "defense" program, their suspicions are less likely to be aroused when the same thing is

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presented to them "in a democratic fashion." And so they are more likely to fall for it. And having done so, they will be well on their way to captivity, decoyed by the Thomases into the clutches of warmongering finance capital.

The people are being *deceived* by the imperialists and their reformist agents into making *two main errors* on the question of national defense, and a number of smaller ones.

One is to mistake a program of imperialist war preparations for a program of national defense, and the other is to assume that the working class and its allies can accept a program of imperialist war preparations and war *without* sacrificing every one of their vital interests, *without* in fact surrendering to the imperialist bourgeoisie.

This being so, the task is evident. Basing ourselves on the spreading opposition among the masses to imperialist war, to involvement in the war and to preparations for war; organizing them and participating with them in every activity against Wall Street's war program, in all fields, no matter how elemental or immature in political consciousness; utilizing for these purposes every division or disagreement in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself—we must patiently and thoroughly explain to the masses their errors. We must show them as convincingly as we can that the chief enemy of the nation's security today (in the midst of an imperialist war turning into a world war) is warmongering Wall Street and the imperialist bourgeoisie and that, therefore, the first and major effort for true national defense is *to check and frustrate* the war plans of finance capital and the war profiteers. This is first. Secondly, we must convince the masses that the matter of national defense, when left in the hands of Wall Street and of a government which follows Wall Street's line, can be nothing else but a program of imperialist war abroad and reactionary dictatorship at home, that it leads nowhere else but to *national ruination.*

This has been amply proved by the ruinous consequences of imperialist policy to the peoples of France, England and Germany. The imperialist bourgeoisie and its governments are today the destroyers of their nations. Therefore, the struggle for the security of the nation and its defense requires an unremitting struggle by a united people, headed by the working class, to free the nation from Wall Street domination. Only the people themselves, led by the working class, organized in a united anti-imperialist front, can insure the security of the country and provide real national defense.

Thirdly, we must convince the masses that the best interests of the American nation require that the war should not be spread, that America should keep out of it, that all possible cooperation and assistance be given to the peoples already engaged in war—for the purpose of bringing the war to an end in defiance of the criminal designs of the bourgeoisie. And this means an active and energetic struggle for peace and against war preparations, in cooperation with the anti-imperialist and peace movements abroad

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and in support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

Fourthly, we must concentrate especially on explaining to the masses that support for the so-called "national" defense programs of Wall Street and the Administration, no matter how qualified and reserved, is *in practice* tantamount to support of war and war preparations; that to do so means to sacrifice the interests of the people and of the nation; that it is impossible to support *imperialist* "national" defense without opening the road to complete surrender to the bourgeoisie and to betrayal of the interests of the nation itself.

Fifthly, we must never fail to demonstrate that the "national" defense programs of the social-reformists (Hillman, Thomas, etc.), camouflaged as they are in "labor" and "democratic" phraseology, are nothing else but *decoys* to trap the masses into the imperialist war bag.

Explain, explain and explain. This is the big job to be tackled *in the process of drawing into the daily struggle against the war-makers the widest masses of the people,* exposing and combating the social-reformist betrayers of the interests of the workers, the betrayers of the interests of the nation. The nation is the people; the people are the toiling and exploited population of the country headed by the working class; they and they alone, therefore, are the true defenders of the nation. Only in their hands can national defense become true defense of the nation as against the policies of the Wall Street war-makers who are endangering and betraying the American nation.

* * *

FROM this standpoint, which is the only consistent working class standpoint, we must examine the position on national defense as embodied in the statement of the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In doing so, we are forced to the conclusion that it is a very unsatisfactory position. For, in essence, it tends to accept the conception of "national" defense as advocated and executed by the Roosevelt Administration. And, as we have proved in the foregoing, the Administration's conception is basically that of the Wall Street warmongers.

It could be said that the C.I.O. statement does not endorse any specific program of national defense; that it confines itself to the approval of the general idea of national defense and expresses readiness "to lend practical, wholesome and feasible cooperation in any undertaking to protect this nation and prepare for national defense." And this is true. But what can this really mean in the present situation, regardless of intentions? When one says: I am for national defense and *therefore* oppose the warmongering plans of the Administration which are falsely labeled "national" defense, the position is clear, correct and in the best interests of the American people and nation. But when one says: I am for national defense and keeps quiet about the existing war preparations of the Administration (also called "national" defense) and then

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pledges "cooperation," the position is not so clear, not correct and not in the best interests of the people.

For the question that arises immediately is this: with whom are we going to "cooperate"? Naturally, with the Administration. But the Administration's program of "national" defense is one of imperialist war preparations. Are we going to cooperate with that? And if we are, we will be cooperating in preparing and waging imperialist war. And this would constitute betrayal of the interests of labor and of the nation.

Is there any other interpretation possible? Yes, there is, only it isn't much better. One can say, for example, that we will cooperate with the Administration on the basis of our own conception of what constitutes national defense. Seemingly this looks better. At least, it indicates a good intention. Yet when it comes to crucial and fundamental matters of this kind, good intentions usually count for very little. What counts is the objective logic of the position itself. And what is the position? It is that labor and the common people can *collaborate* with the imperialists and war-makers in national defense. But that is impossible. Labor and the common people are against going into war; the imperialists of Wall Street (and the Administration) are driving the nation headlong into it. How can there be cooperation on that? Labor and the common people are determined to preserve their standards and rights; the imperialists and the Administration are in a mad rush to cut down and destroy these standards and rights of the people. The fact is—the main fact—the imperialists *cannot* prepare for and wage war without destroying the people's lives. See what is happening in England, Germany and France. And in the Allied countries, the "democracies," the destruction is carried out with the cooperation—a good deal of cooperation—of trade union and Socialist leaders.

Is that the kind of "cooperation" the C.I.O. statement envisages? If not, if the defense of the rights of labor embodied in the statement is to be taken seriously, then how can there be "cooperation"?

We can foresee an answer. We might be told that labor cannot now take the position of "either—or," either the imperialist program goes into effect or labor's program; that we must fight in the manner of give-and-take. Labor, we may be told, isn't strong enough for any other position; that we must be practical.

Yes, we should be practical. We should weigh very carefully the relative strength of various camps and act accordingly. But act—*for what?* For whose interests? For the interests of labor. For the interests of the common people. Let us firmly and honestly agree on that. Then we shall find that there are *certain things which we cannot give* without giving away every interest of the people, *no matter* what else we may do afterwards. And one of these things is support to preparations for imperialist war. Once this is given away, everything else will go with it. And no amount of good intentions will count for much in practice.

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It isn't at all the same thing as negotiating an ordinary collective bargaining agreement for an industry, in a case where no principles are involved. There, an honest trade union leader is very often forced to make compromises, "to give and take," depending upon the relation of forces in the given situation. There, such compromises, based exclusively on the relation of forces, are possible and necessary; always remembering, of course, that there are dishonest compromises and sell-outs practiced by reformists and "labor" fakers.

Good and permissible compromises are necessary not only there. Fighting working class organizations generally are very often compelled to make compromises, to retreat, to maneuver. They would be in bad shape indeed, if they couldn't do these things. But here we are dealing with *principle,* with the very essence of working class interest. Here is one of those situations where it is: either—or. Either we are for imperialist war, or we are against it. Either we are for war preparations, or we are against it. What give and take can there be on such a fundamental issue of principle?

We can foresee, of course, a certain kind of "compromise" which may look more or less "attractive." It would run something like this: "Labor can't stop the war or the war preparations. It is going to happen anyway. For labor to put itself actively in opposition to the war rush and 'preparedness' would mean isolation from the mass of the people and this will enable the economic royalists to go full speed ahead with the offensive upon labor's positions. Therefore, we make a "compromise.' We withdraw opposition against the war preparations and in return try to secure protection for our organizations and rights."

Is that what is meant? If so, it is getting worse every minute. First of all, we must challenge this analysis of the position of labor in the present situation. It is not true that labor cannot stop the war preparations and the war. If labor is made fully conscious of its needs, tasks, and mission as leader of the people; if it is organized and led along the path of the anti-imperialist people's peace front; then, instead of labor becoming isolated because of active opposition to the war-makers, it will grow more powerful and influential in the affairs of the nation. In other words: labor is threatened with isolation, *not from too much active opposition to the war-makers, but from too little.* Let labor give the real lead, and the masses of the common people throughout the country will respond with enthusiasm and confidence, *for the American people do not want war.* It is thus necessary to say that the best way for labor to get the support of all common people against the offensive of the monopolies is for labor to assume real active leadership of all the people against war and war preparations. Whereas to abandon that leadership is to court isolation.

And this already shows the futility of the hope that, by withdrawing active opposition to the war-

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makers, labor will be able to save its own organizations and standards. That will be *promised* to labor, no doubt; it is already being promised. But just let labor abandon leadership in the people's fight against the war-makers and, as an inevitable consequence, let labor's isolation begin to set in, and all these promises will disappear at once. The monopolies will have gotten labor where they wanted it right along. In other words, the surest way for labor to endanger most seriously and eventually *lose* its standards, rights and independent organizations is to withdraw active opposition to war preparations and war. And that is the meaning of the "attractive" compromise under discussion.

What conclusion, therefore, must we reach regarding the position on national defense embodied in the C.I.O. statement? We must reach the conclusion that it is an incorrect position, that it is not in the interests of labor and of the nation, that it constitutes a serious political mistake of first-rate magnitude, that the objective logic of that position leads to surrender to the imperialists and to betrayal of the most vital interests of the masses. We must do all in our power to help the labor movement reach the correct path to the defense of the American people and nation, to leadership on that path, to the path of the anti-imperialist people's peace front, headed by a united working class.

The Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party has equipped us for precisely this task. It has given us a political line and a program of action which the people need and to which the widest masses will respond. The whole Party is firmly united behind this line and program. It is enthusiastic at the outcome of the convention and is confidently following the leadership of the National Committee headed by our leaders—Browder and Foster.

With this political and organizational equipment, we are now going to the masses of the people, to the rank and file of the working class and of all toilers. We go to them with the powerful policy of the united and people's front from below, *among the masses themselves*, collaborating in the struggle with every sincere and honest opponent of the warmongers, the exploiters, the imperialists. And the election campaign is our great opportunity at the present time. To secure the Party's place on the ballot and to win true mass support of the voters for our standard bearers, Browder and Ford, is our most immediate and pressing task.

Forward to the fulfilment of our new tasks in the people's fight for peace, security and freedom!

A. B.

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THE DOMESTIC REACTIONARY COUNTERPART OF THE WAR POLICY OF THE BOURGEOISIE

BY EARL BROWDER

(Selection from the report by the General Secretary, in behalf of the National Committee, to the Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, held in New York, May 30 to June 2, 1940.)

UNDER the slogan of "national unity" the economic royalists and their agents are rallying the entire bourgeoisie against the working class and toiling masses, they are splitting the nation into two camps with a decisiveness that has never before been witnessed. They are making united war against the labor movement, against the living and working standards of the masses, and against popular civil rights. This is the domestic policy which inevitably accompanies an imperialist war policy. President Roosevelt, assuming the leadership of the war party, has thereby also assumed the leadership of domestic reaction. The New Deal chapter of progressive social legislation, always fragmentary and lacking consistency, has now definitely closed.

The Roosevelt regime was inaugurated almost simultaneously with that of Hitler in Germany. Both arose from the same deep and catastrophic economic crisis of the capitalist world system, and the impossibility of finding any way out by "normal" means. *They took different paths,* because the German bourgeoisie had united, with British support, upon the course of open brutal dictatorship to suppress the home population and intense preparation for foreign wars; whereas the American bourgeoisie split after a short period when it was in doubt which way Roosevelt was moving; the most reactionary section went in the Hitler direction while a "liberal" section rallied the masses to its support for a "liberal experiment" in progressive domestic and foreign policy to meet the crisis, which came to be identified as the "New Deal" and the "Good Neighbor" policies. Both of these are now dead. The Rooseveltism of the New Deal has capitulated to the reactionaries. A new Roosevelt is again bosom friends with that evil old man Garner and his friends. The new Roosevelt course is essen-

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tially for America the same direction which Hitler gave for Germany in 1933. Unless it is halted, and a different course charted for our country, it can only have a similarly catastrophic end. In the name of the fight against Hitlerism, the American bourgeoisie boldly strikes out on the path of imitation. Its period of appeasement of the people has ended. Monopoly capital, dominating our society, has in the end no other answer to the questions raised by the crisis and breakdown of its economic system than that given in the past years by its European class brothers. It is the answer of black reaction and war.

But from 1935 up to the outbreak of the imperialist war, a section of the bourgeoisie, in a loose sort of coalition with labor, the poorer farmers, the Negroes, the youth, the unemployed, *had tried to lead the United States on a different path, the path of social reform and concessions to the masses, with peaceful and conciliatory relations with Latin America and the rest of the world.* That was the period of the New Deal, in which the obsolete and disintegrating old party structure had largely dissolved into two new camps—the New Deal and the anti-New Deal—*in which American newspapers and the economic royalists were almost as fierce in their hatred of Roosevelt as they are now of the Communists.*

How long ago that period seems now! Yet, when we check up with the calendar, it was less than a year ago that Roosevelt was accused of being a Red, or at least a "Communist stooge" and an agent of Moscow. It is only somewhat more than a year ago that a solemn Senate Committee gravely demanded to know of Mr. Felix Frankfurter, prominent New Dealer, if he were a member of the Communist Party, and only upon his equally grave reply that he was not, unanimously confirmed him to life membership in the Supreme Court. Less than a year ago that Martin Dies was a deadly enemy of the Administration of which he is today the ideological and political vanguard. Less than a year ago that Elliot Roosevelt was publicly panning papa on the radio and boosting papa's most virulent enemy in the Democratic Party; but now papa has won son's endorsement for a third term for uniting with son's employers. Less than ten months ago in fact; but so much water has run under the bridge in that time that it seems like ten years!

Today it is no longer any more than her usual jump ahead of her political camp when Dorothy Thompson, the unique and inimitable, plumps for a third term for Roosevelt on Republican and Democratic tickets with Wendell Willkie as his running-mate! Yes, it is unquestionably the same Dorothy. Only the times have changed, and the alignment of classes, and the bourgeoisie is at war—war among their different governments and war against the working class and toiling masses everywhere!

Today there are eighty-five trade unions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations *indicted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law,* for *conspiracy* to organize the workers of their industries. Ben Gold,

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Irving Potash, and a dozen associates of the Fur Workers Union have been sentenced to long prison terms. Twenty-five teamsters of Local 807, American Federation of Labor, were convicted and some of them face as high as forty-one years' imprisonment for striving for union conditions and standards. The first time in history that *any one* has ever been sentenced to prison under this law adopted generations ago! And the proceedings are brought by the Roosevelt Administration, heading a united bourgeoisie, with the economic royalists a solidly cheering group in the foreground!

The great transformation began to develop systematically and swiftly, at the opening of the imperialist war. A simple little reservation to the declaration of American neutrality toward this war—that "we" could not all agree to be "neutral in thought"—started an endless chain of cause and effect that has culminated in a complete regroupment in American politics and brought the United States to the brink of plunging headlong into the most senseless and destructive war in the history of the world.

"Fifty thousand airplanes" is the slogan which opened up the 1940 Presidential campaign. For what? The answer is a solemn recital of the flying time of various air-schedules into the United States, culminating in the information that from Tampico, Mexico, it is only two-and-a-half hours to Omaha and Kansas City. But Lindbergh was only stating a matter of common knowledge and common sense, whatever his political motive, which is open to question, when he said that no possible enemy could invade the United States by air, and that the United States cannot possibly be involved in war except by its own seeking. For what, then the fifty thousand airplanes and the multiplied billions for the Army and Navy? What, then, is the significance of time schedule of air flights?

Peoples of the twenty Latin American countries will stir uneasily as they reflect that the air time-tables work both ways! The whole world knows of "Wrong-way" Corrigan, and that he is an American national hero! There is no power which could conceivably invade the United States by air, but fifty thousand military airplanes in the United States with as many young Corrigans at the controls would be as heavy a sword over the head of Latin America as twelve thousand planes in Germany were for the last years over the head of Europe. The Mexican people must be pondering deeply over the meaning of the mention of Tampico, principal point of distribution of the Mexican oil industry, regarding which the United States Government is making demands which the Mexican Government has rejected as infringing upon Mexican integrity and independence. Fifty thousand airplanes become full of meaning for the Latin American peoples, who can now see the three hundred-mile neutrality zone around the continents as a claim staked out by Yankee imperialism.

What do the fifty thousand airplanes mean to the people of the Pacific, of the Far East? Will the news bring comfort to the four hundred million population of China,

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who during eight years have suffered much more than Europe all the horrors of modern military invasion, the loss of all their seacoast and large cities, the death of ten millions, with famine for hundreds of millions? No, it will not comfort the Chinese, for they will remember that over the eight years *the Japanese invaders have carried on only with the supplies furnished by the United States;* that the American conscience has stirred but faintly under the vast profits gained from this trade; that Washington became excited and raised the slogan of fifty thousand planes, in relation to the Far East, only when the future of the rubber, oil, and tin of the Dutch East Indies became an open question. Fifty thousand planes registers an American imperialist claim on the Dutch East Indies.

Greenland, Iceland, the Caribbean islands, these are but the small change in the great gamble of world redivision and world empire into which Roosevelt is leading the American people.

But this bald program of imperialist territorial aggrandizement overseas cannot secure the support of the American people. It is therefore not directly propagandized; it is even indignantly denied. Once the United States is "at war," however, the tail would go with the hide without any possibility of mass criticism. The problem of American imperialism is therefore one of getting the country into war, on any or every pretext, and then their program will have no effective opposition, so they think. How to get into the war, that is the question for our ruling circles.

The United States is already in the war morally and economically as a non-belligerent ally of England and France. But the profits from war trade prove painfully disappointing in volume, and do not keep pace with the losses from deepening economic crisis. Further, as a non-belligerent it is still impossible to abolish at one stroke all social legislation and trade union safeguards, still impossible to conscript labor, still impossible to implement those beautiful M-day plans, which are the imperialist ideal of heaven on earth. All the irksome problems of "disciplining" unruly labor, of dissolving all "democratic nonsense" in the country, could be so easily cut through with the sword of belligerency, of official entrance into the war!

This, not sympathy with the "democracies" which have turned dictatorships overnight, is the main driving force impelling the American bourgeoisie into the war. But that sympathy, which exists among the masses together with a hatred of Hitlerism, is counted upon to undermine and overcome the even more clear and emphatic determination among the masses to keep out of this war. This is being strengthened by studied incitations to hysterical fear of the safety of America in the war-torn world. Truly America is in danger, but the bourgeoisie is determined to hide the real danger, which is the danger of being dragged into the war on the Allied side, and the danger of indigenous fascism which springs directly from the economic royalists, from Wall Street. The masses are to be frightened by the specter of invasion from abroad,

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to accept the yoke of military dictatorship wielded by the economic royalists at home.

This course is all the more acceptable to our American ruling classes, since they also have interests in the European war which they can better advance through a belligerent position. They want Britain to win—not too quickly and not too cheaply, of course! They foresee the British Empire coming out of this war in such a position of dependency upon the American Empire as formerly the Dutch bore toward Britain, or that to which the French had been reduced in the last few years. The British Empire is an "inheritance" which the American imperialists would therefore not like to see dispersed, although they are not displeased to see Uncle John Bull in poor health. But above all the American ruling class interest in Europe is to do everything possible to check and prevent the outbreak of popular unheavals, which bear the danger of leading directly to the socialist revolution in one or more European countries. *Fear of revolutionary upheaval in Europe, and the determination to hold it down by all means is the most powerful general motive driving the American ruling circles toward entrance into the war as a belligerent. Capitalism must be preserved at all costs in Europe if Wall Street is to feel safe in America. That is what the American newspapers and statesmen mean when they say, "In Europe they are fighting our battles for us, and we must help them."*

This is the world outlook and program upon which the economic royalists and their political henchmen are united. This is the basis for unity of the bourgeoisie, which takes place so rapidly before our eyes after years of split and the most bitter struggles. It is a unity against labor and the masses at home, against the weaker and dependent countries and for the Allied imperialists as against the German in the war. But it is only a relative unity within which their own quarrels grow more bitter. It is not yet a unity of leadership and method in the struggle for these goals. Our ruling classes have not thoroughly modernized their instruments of rule, and fall into some confusion in driving toward what they want. Let us turn to an examination of the alignment of candidates, parties, and issues in the 1940 Presidential elections, the waves and froth on the surface of our political seas, which express that confusion.

Issues and Parties in the 1940 Elections

The dissolution and merging of the New Deal and anti-New Deal political camps have wiped out all previous perspectives for the 1940 elections, as we analyzed the question at our Tenth National Convention, and at our National Committee meetings in May and September of last year. All that is now ancient history, fully valid for its time, but as obsolete today as a first model Ford automobile.

The traditional two old major political parties have again emerged to the foreground, but representing less than ever before a division on real issues and political currents of American life. The Republican and

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Democratic Parties exist as the two arms of a common set of rulers, the economic royalists, and can have no serious struggle for power between them except within the limits set for them by their common masters. At the same time the lower leadership and apparatus of these parties constitute a special interest, the "Ins" to preserve the rich spoils of office (not something to be sneezed at, and all in all rivaling some of the larger industries in financial values), and the "Outs," moved by a desperate hunger to get back in the public trough again. Since Roosevelt decapitated and dispersed the New Deal coalition, these old parties are prancing over the political stage, confident that they will run the show between them, whichever gets the principal role, and that the masses will not be able to obtrude themselves on the stage but must remain as audience and payer of the bills.

The workers, farmers, toiling middle classes, Negroes, youth, the great bulk of the voting population, are profoundly dissatisfied with conditions, and with the policies of government. They are almost unanimously for staying out of the war. At least a third of them are consciously independent of both major parties, perhaps even so much as half; while the great majority have only the most formal and traditional party attachments. Yet the independent and dissatisfied masses have no common instrument of political expression; they have never learned (except small minorities and a few localities) to express their independence except through swinging back and forth between the two established major parties. Moves in the direction of mass political independence are organized only incompletely; Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Farmers Union and other farm organizations, the Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress, various regional and local movements under various names, all together constitute a formidable nucleus of a third major party; but even if fully united and mobilized would face in 1940 the enormous handicaps of American election laws which give a practical monopoly of election rights to the old established parties. It is this condition which gives such arrogance to the ruling class in control of Republican and Democratic Party leadership, and makes them feel free to defy mass demands and sentiments even in the face of an impending Presidential election.

The crisis in America and the world has created a situation analagous in its outlines to that of 1856, when the dominant Whig and Democratic Parties were equally divorced from the masses and in agreement to thwart their will—a situation which gave birth to the Republican Party, a new party, a third party, which began as a desperate minority movement but swept to power in the nation four years later under Abraham Lincoln, solving the crisis through the abolition of slavery and victory of the Union in the Civil War.

The masses of the United States cry out for such a new party, for a modern Abraham Lincoln, as the only road toward the solution of the crisis of today, the crisis of the breakdown of capitalism, the crisis

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of imperialist war that threatens destruction to the world.

It is the threat of emergence of such a third party, despite all difficulties, which is the only curb on the unbridled arrogance of the economic royalists who rule both old parties. It is this which holds them back from enthusiastic adoption of Dorothy Thompson's coalition ticket of Roosevelt and Willkie. It is this which preserves the forms of political struggle between the two parties and which, unorganized and unprepared as it is, might conceivably become the hole in the reactionary dike through which the stream of mass resistance to war and reaction might break.

Roosevelt has captured complete control of the Democratic Party machinery which had escaped him when he was still a New Dealer. He has made it the war party of a consistent and energetic drive to war on all fronts. The Republican Party is more immediately and completely the instrument, the servant, of the economic royalists, but because it is known as such it cannot possibly be so useful for war-times as Roosevelt and the Democrats. Roosevelt performs a similar service for the American ruling class to that which the British Labor Party performs in the new Churchill Cabinet for the British ruling class—he brings the mass support that clings from past associations with labor and progressive causes, together with fanatic consecration to the imperialist war with all its consequences. The British rulers would be more comfortable with a Cabinet of diehard Tories, but they wouldn't be nearly as successful in war; the American rulers would be more comfortable with a Dewey, Taft, Vandenberg, or Willkie, but again they would not be nearly as successful in war. That is why Park Avenues and Wall Street, where hatred of Roosevelt was a cult, have taken the President to their bosom again. He is no longer the "traitor to his class." The betting odds in favor of a third term are steadily rising.

That is not to say that everything is cut and dried. Many things can happen between now and November, for the current of history is running at a terrific speed. There are speculations in high bourgeois circles that there might be a quick peace in Europe—which would mean a peace highly undesirable to Wall Street, a combination of British-German imperialisms directed immediately against American imperialist interests, with a possible Japanese attachment to double its effectiveness. That would mean the probable defeat of Roosevelt. In these catastrophic days we must not be surprised at even the most surprising transformations. We must, learn to expect the unexpected, without committing ourselves to speculations. There are but few fixed and stable points in the world. The recent seizure of power in France by the Cagoulard, General Weygand, gives point to Duff Cooper's warning about a French move for a separate peace.

Within the limits imposed by the basic agreed policy of the bourgeoisie, the Republican and Democratic Parties will probably display

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a shade of difference on the question of American entry into the war, which will be a real difference. Both will, of course, protest that they want to keep America out, but that we are being dragged in against the unanimous will of the country. That is one of the established techniques of going to war. Both will support the huge armaments program, which they will both call defense, but which has no meaning except for fighting abroad. But the Republicans are still undecided whether they shall appear as *more* warlike than Roosevelt, or *less so*; but since the first will really be very difficult indeed, and the second will be much more productive of votes, the chances are strongly in favor of the Republicans taking a position a shade less warlike than the Democrats. After all, the real decisions will always be made by the same interests anyway, and the Republicans are the "Outs" who want to be "In"!

A real difference within the ruling classes—a difference of *tendency*—may thus be reflected in the two parties. Roosevelt places first the considerations of saving European capitalism from collapse, and even subordinates some immediate considerations of American imperialist advancement to this aim. The Republicans agree with this aim, but whenever it may seem to conflict with some immediate extension of American control over the world, they would be inclined to sacrifice their class brothers in Britain and France. What Lindbergh expresses as a definite system of thought, the Republican Party tends to reflect as an undeveloped tendency, a shade, a tone, of difference with Roosevelt.

In the field of domestic policy, both Republicans and Democrats are fully agreed to scrap all labor and social legislation as much as possible, to militarize labor, to drastically curb civil liberties, to lower the standard of living of the masses. They will disagree as to method. The Republicans will want to do it more openly, frankly, and brutally; the Democrats want to do it sorrowfully, with many tears, pointing with pride to the New Deal, promising solemnly that it will all be restored "after the emergency has passed," or even that it will not be done at all, and that "labor" will be "represented" in Washington, and blaming it all on the wicked foreign aggressors. The net result adds up to about the same amount.

That about sums up the differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties. Tweedledum and Tweedledee are back again in their original act, somewhat more tawdry and shopworn, but the same old team. The Gold Dust Twins of Wall Street are all set to do their stuff. The workers, farmers, and toiling middle classes will again be given the opportunity to choose whether Dum or Dee shall administer the policies of starvation, oppression and war, and will be asked to enthuse over the choice. Meanwhile the hysterical clamor about the "fifth column" is preparing the necessary "atmosphere."

Who is the "fifth column"?

We must not make a mistake of identity. The newspapers say that in England the hysteria about the

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"fifth column" and "parachute" troops became so confusing that some villagers caught and murdered several officers of the Royal Air Force, whom they mistook for alien enemies.

It is very important for the American people to know who are the hidden force—the enemies of the freedom of our country that are concealed among us and actively working to our country's undoing. Surely we ought to know what the "fifth column" is.

This expression "fifth column" came into use at the time of the Spanish civil war. It meant, and it always means, the concealed enemies of the people, the reactionaries, the groups opposed to the interests of the majority of the people, and therefore compelled to conceal their real character from the people. But there are certain easily recognized marks of the "fifth column."

First: They will be found secretly or openly sowing the seed of race prejudice—the seeds of Negro baiting and anti-Semitism—or, at least, secretly connected with those who do spread such prejudice in order to debauch the people.

Second: They will be found always composed of strike-breaking, anti-labor elements; they always smell of the strike-breaking underworld, subsidized by big business.

Third: The "fifth column" is always connected with the centers of great wealth that are interested in making or provoking war. Remember that always: The "fifth column" is always of the war party and never in friendly relations with anyone who is sincerely and intelligently working for peace.

And lastly: There has never been a case in Spain or France or Austria or Belgium or Czechoslovakia or Poland or America or anywhere else, where the "fifth column" did not hate as it first enemy the Communist Party and the trade unions of the working class.

So who are the "fifth column" in the United States?

Undoubtedly, the first name we think of is Martin Dies, the protector and employer of so many professional anti-Semitic and fascist agents, including the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite provocateurs, in his un-American activities.

Undoubtedly, also, we cannot but think of the fact that the Roosevelt Administration, in assuming leadership of the war party, and taking over the whole policy and probably also the personnel of Mr. Dies' un-American machine, inevitably will function as the most effective organizer of the "fifth column." This is evident from Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, in which he tries to stimulate pro-war groupings among the vast majority of the American people who are opposed to war. It is also the corollary of Mr. Roosevelt's, Mr. Jackson's and Mr. Arnold's present nationwide drive against the unions.

They are the "Ins"; but what about the "Outs"?

Tweedledum, in power, may be more effective, but Tweedledee—the Republican Party leadership—has a long and evil-smelling record of direct connection with practically the entire body of the corrupt underworld, of fascism, anti-Semitism and the agent-provocateur.

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Proof of a tie-up between the Republican National Committee and various fascist and anti-Semitic organizations and leaders is to be found in the financial reports filed under compulsion of the Corrupt Practices Act. Various notorious fascists and fascist organizations have received large sums in the form of direct payments of money from the Republican National Committee. Such avowed super-patriotic fascists as Walter S. Steele, president of the so-called American Coalition of Patriotic Societies; Sidney Brooks, one of the founders of the Order of '76; Harry Jung, president of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation; Felix McWhirter, of the American Nationalists, and others, have found money support from the Republican National Committee. So, too, have certain fascist organizations like the National Union and the Volunteers. The famous undercover spy, Harold Lord Varney, who was so successful as an *agent-provocateur* in the I.W.W., received large sums of money from the treasury of the Republican National Committee.

But not the worst of it is shown by direct payments from the Committee treasury. During the 1936 election campaign *fourteen fascist organizations received $924,974.84 from nine leading Republican families.* The Crusaders, the Minute Men and Women of Today, the New York State Economic Council, the Sentinels of the Republic—these are fascist recipients of this huge sums of nearly a million dollars.

The du Pont family gave $356,667.68, the Pitcairn family of the Auto-Giro Company and coal companies gave $100,250; J. P. Morgan and associates donated $68,226; the Mellon associates, $60,752.55; the Rockefeller associates $49,852.56 and E. F. Hutton and associates $40,671.28, all to subsidize a "fifth column" for anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-labor, anti-democratic, anti-peace, anti-Communist underground activity in the United States.

Raymond Pitcairn gave the Sentinels of the Republic $91,000 while his brother Harold contributed a petty $5,000 and the good Rev. Theodore Pitcairn donated $3,500. Of the $924,000 contributed by these nine families almost half went to the Crusaders and the Sentinels, two openly avowed fascist organizations. The Crusaders received $227,856.11 and the Sentinels, $140,820.

The Crusaders received other contributions from other leading Republican industrialists. From:

James F. Bell, Chairman of the Board of General Mills	$6,876.27
Walter Chrysler, Chrysler Auto	876.27
H. B. Earhart, Vacuum Oil Co.	3,376.27
Howard Heinz, Heinz Pickle Co. and director of Mellon Bank	5,876.27
George A. Houston, President, Baldwin Locomotive Co.	876.27
George H. Mead, President, News Print Importing Co.	876.27
F. A. Merrick, President, Westinghouse	876.27
E. T. Weir, President, Weirton Steel Co.	10,126.2

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Walter S. Steele, editor and publisher of the notorious fascist and anti-Semitic organ, *National Republic,* has been on the payroll of the Republican National Committee for years.

Steele is the president of the American Coalition Committee on National Security, an organization composed of 114 so-called patriotic organizations such as the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, American Women Against Communism, Associated Farmers, Minute Men of America, Better America Federation, etc., etc. He is in constant touch with the leaders of these anti-labor, anti-Semitic, fascist organizations.

In the *Congressional Record* of February 17, 1939, pages 2237-38, there appears Congressman Sabath's expose of Steele's connections with the Silver Shirts, with the anti-Semitic, fascist Col. Sanctuary, head of the American Christian Defenders (Sanctuary is a member of the advisory board of Steele's *National Republic*); with George Sylvester Viereck, the known Nazi agent; with Harry Jung, notorious labor spy.

The Republican National Committee's report of election expenditures on file with the Clerk of the House in Washington shows that the Republican National Committee has paid out to Steele's fascist, anti-Semitic magazine large sums of money for alleged "printing and supplies." In 1932 the Committee paid $19,569.63. In the next Presidential campaign, that of 1936, the Republican National Committee paid $18,883.65.

Another on the payroll of the Republican National Committee is Sidney Brooks. His salary was $312.50 per month, plus $104.17 allowance per month, plus expenses.

This Sidney Brooks was one of the founders of the Order of '76, an anti-Semitic, fascist organization. He is the son of Edwin Emerson, Nazi propagandist and agent who had his office in the German consulate office at 17 Battery Place, New York. The total payments to Brooks in 1934 when he was organizing the Order of '76 was $8,604.30.

During the 1936 campaign the Republican National Committee paid to one S. Jones, an ex-reporter, $3,000 per month and expenses. From May 26, 1936, until October 31, 1936, they paid Jones a total of $14,895.44. Jones, an intimate of William Dudley Pelley, James True and other fascists, acted as pay-off man to various fascists for their services to the Republican Party.

The financial reports of the Republican National Committee further show payments of $5,000 made to the Volunteers, a fascist organization with headquarters in Chicago.

The reports show payments made to Harry Jung individually and to his organization, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. Jung is connected with the leading fascists in this country and sells the *Protocols of Zion* at 15 cents apiece, or 10 cents in bundle lots.

The reports show payments made to the National Union, a fascist organization with headquarters in Springfield, Mass.; to Harold Lord Varney, to Felix McWhirter, treas-

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urer of the Republican State Committee of Indiana. McWhirter has been associated in his fascist activities with such leading fascists as Dudley Gilbert of the American Nationalists, James E. Campbell and General Moseley.

Many of these persons are recognized as agents of Nazism, even by Martin Dies, who does his best to protect them and use them against the labor movement.

It is true these "fifth column" groups reached their highest development in fighting against the New Deal, but the Administration itself has deserted the New Deal and has found substantial agreement with the du Ponts and Morgans in the drive for war.

There we see the true "fifth column," always the subsidized agent of the most reactionary, most warlike section of finance capital, seeking to lure the people into destroying their own liberties and into bloody military adventure.

Some people think that, because the Socialist Party is a corpse, therefore it will not play a role in the 1940 elections. But that is a mistake. Such persons have short memories. What could be more completely a corpse than the League of Nations, and yet last December the ghastly thing rose from its grave with the greatest alacrity when it heard the anti-Soviet trumpet call. The corpse of the Socialist Party is rising to the same call, and Norman Thomas will shake its bones on the front pages of all the capitalist newspapers until next November. He has already received his credentials from the New York metropolitan press as a scholar and a gentleman, one of their own, performing a useful if slightly distasteful task in the common cause, and therefore to be treated with the greatest consideration and respect. After all, if the Communist Party vote is to be kept down, the bourgeoisie cannot get along without an "anti-war" party of its own, which will specialize in slanders against the Land of Socialism. Norman Thomas with his Socialist Party is made to order for them. Not an intelligent bourgeois in America could doubt it, after Thomas said that if he could be sure the war would end in the destruction of the Soviet Union, then he would "regretfully" favor America's entrance into it. The bourgeoisie readily forgives Thomas his "regrets," for they saw the French Norman Thomas, Leon Blum, "regretfully" strangle the Spanish Republic, break up the Front Populaire, and deliver up the French working class to the police, all to the accompaniment of the most exquisite tears and lamentations. Yes, we may expect the Socialist Party corpse to play a very lively part in the elections this year, at least in the newspapers, and we shall not underestimate the damage it can do to the cause of working class advancement and peace. The capitalist press does not give millions of dollars' worth of favorable newspaper attention out of liberal Quixotism; they expect to receive value for value. And they will not be disappointed. Norman Thomas will deliver to the masses, under a sugar-coating of "Socialist" phrases, every idea with which the

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ruling class wishes to impregnate the working class. The full and systematic exposure of this role of Norman Thomas before the broadest masses will be one of our most essential tasks throughout the election campaign.

The Role of the Communist Party in 1940

The peculiarities of the political superstructure in the United States serve to emphasize the effects of the changing class alignments; both of these factors place the most heavy responsibilities upon the Communist Party in 1940. A great and growing mass movement away from the old major parties has been disrupted from above by the desertion of Roosevelt and his close associates to the enemy camp. At the moment it even appears likely that of all the former New Deal coalition, *only* the Communist Party will appear in these elections fighting for the immediate demands of the masses as something to be advanced and not surrendered; *only* the Communist Party (with some local exceptions here and there) will offer candidates to vote for whom means a clear-cut vote against war involvement and for the preservation and extension of the interests and rights of the broad masses.

The Communist Party's first task is to crystallize the mass determination to keep our country out of the European war.

At the same time the Communist Party has a special task to inform and educate the masses in the program of the socialist way out of the crisis; this is something of which the broadest masses are only dimly conscious, which they understand as yet but little and unclearly.

Our Party must learn, better than ever before, how to perform both tasks simultaneously; how to express the immediate and conscious desires, aspirations, and demands of the broad masses, of the majority, to rouse and organize them in the most effective struggle for these aims; and at the same time, using this immediate struggle as the starting point, to educate these masses more and more to their fundamental and long-time interests of which they are not yet conscious, which they do not yet accept and fight for, namely, the program of transforming the privately owned and shockingly mismanaged national economy into a commonly owned, planned economy of prosperity for the masses, which is socialism—the first stage of communism.

The Communist Party occupies a most favorable strategical position in relation to the masses for both these tasks. Our enemies understand this, sometimes better than we do ourselves; they may cry out that "the Communist Party is dead," hoping by some verbal magic the wish thus expressed may come true, but by their mounting and hysterical slanders and attacks against us they testify to their knowledge that we are very much alive and growing stronger every day. Communists need to know their own strength and opportunities, without exaggerating them, for by their full utilization the enemies of the people can be defeated.

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THE THREE BASIC TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PEACE POLICY

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

(Address delivered at the closing session of the Nominating Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, at Madison Square Garden, New York City, June 2, 1940.)

COMRADES and friends:

For the second time within a single generation the decaying world capitalist system has plunged humanity into a frightful mass butchery. The present war is a cold-blooded massacre of the people with the object of preserving and increasing capitalist profits; a ruthless struggle between British and German imperialism for domination of the whole earth. It is fast becoming a world war and is threatening to engulf our country. The criminals responsible for this holocaust of suffering and death are the great capitalists of all countries, including those of the United States. Guilty also are the Social-Democratic flunkeys of these imperialists, their agents in the ranks of the working class.

In the present great war catastrophe the democratic masses of America face three basic tasks, all related to each other. The first of these tasks is to keep America out of the war. Wall Street and its Roosevelt government, by creating panic and hysteria, are trying desperately to force this country into the war on the side of the Allies. Roosevelt's policy has already destroyed American neutrality and has brought us to the brink of the precipice. Backed by Republicans, Socialists and reactionary trade unionists, he is supporting the Allies by propaganda, diplomacy, finance and munitions. And now, with his gigantic so-called national defense program, he is preparing to force the country into the war completely.

* * *

This grave danger makes it necessary that the masses of the people develop a militant struggle to keep America out of the war. Many polls show that the American people are 95 per cent against entering into the war, but the only way they can prevent the warmongers from involving us notwithstanding is by organizing themselves and struggling against every step of the war-makers leading

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towards war. This means not only to fight against Roosevelt's foreign policy, but also against his domestic policy. Especially is it necessary to defend the workers' living and working standards and to defend their civic rights, as a basic phase of the general struggle against the war.

The warmongers are now operating under cover of Roosevelt's hypocritical program of national defense, which is in reality a war program. The Communists stand ready to support a genuine national defense policy, one that is controlled by a democratic people's government and applied to preserve American and world peace. But we reject President Roosevelt's huge scheme of militarization, which is nothing else than Wall Street's program of imperialist aggression and war.

The American warmongers' claim that they are giving the Allies support because of democratic motives are monstrous lies. The major aims of American imperialism and its Roosevelt government in this war situation are to defend the bankers' big foreign investments, to set up an American dictatorship over the Latin American countries under the pretext of defending them from Nazi aggression, to seize the Dutch East Indies and Greenland, to wreck the living conditions, mass organizations and civil liberties of the American people, to bolster up the tottering British and French empires and to gather up their fragments if they fall, to achieve world imperialist hegemony for the United States, and to save the collapsing world capitalist system. It is for these sordid purposes, not for democracy, that the reactionaries want our boys to die on the battlefields of Europe. Should the United States, dominated as it is by Wall Street, enter the present war, it could only be as the defender of world reaction and as the enemy of everything progressive and democratic. Therefore, it is in the deepest interest, not only of the American masses, but of the peoples of the world, that this country be kept out of the war.

* * *

The second great task presented to us by the present war is to achieve a just and lasting world peace. The assertions of American warmongers that the Allies are working for such a peace, that they are fighting against fascism and for democracy and civilization, and that we should therefore support them, are brazen falsehoods and hypocrisies. The warmongers' talk about a free United States of Europe to be established after the war is only so much lying propaganda to dupe the masses into supporting the war. British imperialism, like German imperialism, should it secure a real victory in the war, would proceed as fast and as far as possible towards setting up fascism throughout Europe. Only by such terroristic means could the exploiters even temporarily hold the badly shattered capitalist system together after this war. An Allied victory, therefore, would result in a regime of new wars and mass enslavement, not in peace and democracy.

We must not forget that although

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the Allies won the World War under slogans of making the world safe for democracy and of the war to end all wars, and although they dominated Europe for the following twenty years under the Versailles Treaty, the general result of it all was, not the establishment of world peace and democracy, but that these capitalist powers forced and encouraged half of Europe to become fascist; they also plagued the world with the most terrible economic crises in its history; they were responsible for many weak countries being overrun by warlike aggressors and losing their independence; they rejected the Soviet's proposals for disarmament and for an international peace front; they plotted endlessly to overthrow the Soviet Government, and finally their policies brought on the present ruinous war.

* * *

In view of this reactionary record we would be fools to believe that a victory by the Allied countries, dominated as they are by predatory capitalist interests, would bring peace and democracy to the world. On the contrary, there is every reason to conclude that a decisive success by British and French imperialism in this war would be followed by even deeper reaction than was their winning of the World War. At the conclusion of the present devastating war they would have a rotting and broken down capitalist system on their hands and they would be confronted by a rebellious working class. In such a situation the British and French tories, no less than their blood brothers, Hitler's Nazis, would inevitably grasp at fascist terrorist dictatorship to prolong their rule. Instead of peace and democracy, therefore, the world would face a period of still more terrible wars, profound economic crises, and enslavement of the people.

The most far-reaching experience teaches us that for peace and freedom the people of the world must look to themselves, and not to either camp of the warring imperialists. Not in support of the Allies or of Hitler in the war, but in mass struggle against both groups of imperialists and their brutal war lies the path to a just and lasting world peace. The oppressed of the earth must unite against all the imperialist mass murderers. They need to set up people's front and Socialist governments in the various capitalist countries and they must unite their forces internationally for a common struggle against the capitalist exploiters and war-makers. The road to world peace and freedom lies through the workers and farmers of England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the United States, joining up their great forces with the many oppressed national minorities and defeated small nations throughout the capitalist world, with the vast colonial and semi-colonial peoples of India, China, Africa, and Latin America, and with the great free peoples of the Soviet Union. It is only by building this irresistible bloc of the democratic masses of the world, only by defeating the capitalist classes of their respective countries, only by supporting the peace pol-

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icy of the Soviet Union, that a just, lasting and democratic peace can be established. We Americans must do our part in organizing these fundamental world peace forces.

* * *

The third task presented to us sharply by this war is even more fundamental than the first two we have been discussing. This task is for us to work towards putting an end forever to the monstrous social system, capitalism, which, in addition to its endless other mass miseries, has given birth to this dreadful war. Although at a terrible cost of suffering and exploitation for the workers, the capitalist system once played a constructive role historically. Under it were built the great industries, the revolutionary proletariat was created, bourgeois democracy was born, and science was developed. But capitalism has exhausted its progressive possibilities. The monopoly capitalism of today is hopelessly decadent and reactionary. The whole system is torn with destructive and insoluble inner conflicts and contradictions. It is a menace to humanity and a brake on all progress.

The soothsayers of American capitalism are now very busily seeking to discover new frontiers for capitalist expansion and development. But there are no such frontiers. The capitalist system in the United States, as well as in the rest of the world, has shot its bolt. All it now holds for the people are more frequent and more devastating wars and economic crises, deeper mass pauperization, deadly fascism, and social degeneration. Humanity can find its new frontiers of development and happiness only in socialism. The axe must be laid at the root of the capitalist system. The land and the great industries must become the property of the people. Exploitation of man by man must be ended forever. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are blazing the way that all mankind must travel. Only when the capitalist system is abolished and socialism is established can the world have enduring peace between the nations and enter into a regime of freedom, prosperity, progress and real civilization.

* * *

Before this monstrous war is over the oppressed of the world will take long strides towards their inevitable socialist goal. The workers and other toilers made the capitalists pay dearly for the brutal World War of 1914-18 by transforming one-sixth of the world into socialism. Today the world capitalist system, eaten by internal contradictions and conflicts, is far weaker than it was in the period of the World War and therefore it is much less able to withstand the shock of revolution.

Moreover, the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist forces of the world—including the workers of all countries, the oppressed national minorities, the rebellious colonial peoples, the great Soviet Union—are far more powerful than they were a generation ago. We may be

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confident, therefore, that the exploited millions of the earth will find the way to make the imperialists pay heavily also for this outrageous war by extending socialism over still greater areas of the world. Nor will all the treachery of the Social-Democrats or the fascist terrorism of the imperialists be able to balk their revolutionary will.

These are the three great goals for which the Communist Party is striving—to keep America out of the murderous imperialist war, to achieve a just, democratic and lasting world peace, and to end war forever by abolishing the monstrous capitalist system and establishing socialism. If you sympathize with these objectives we ask you to join with us in our fight, to support our candidates in the elections, and to become a member of the Communist Party, the party of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the party that will eventually lead the American people to socialism.

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RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

IN SESSION, MAY 30-JUNE 2, 1940

RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT OF COMRADE BROWDER

THE Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America unanimously and wholeheartedly accepts the report of Comrade Earl Browder,* recognizing its tremendous value in guiding the policy of the American working class in its struggle against the present imperialist war.

The report charts the course for building the anti-imperialist front of struggle for peace, economic security, prosperity and civil rights, and for leading the American people further on the road to the achievement of socialism.

Comrade Browder's report clearly exposes the character of the present imperialist war as the expression of the deepest crisis of the capitalist world system; it shows this war to be the continuation of the world imperialist war of 1914-18 and of the imperialist policies following that war, and "the expression of the most profound contradiction of the capitalist system of society," beginning as a total war on both sides in a degree even higher than that attained in the last war after four years of its development.

The report shows that the present German dictatorship of Hitler came to power with the aid of British as well as German capital.

The report shows how all the capitalist powers helped prepare this war, although Great Britain, France and the United States proclaimed themselves the most completely devoted friends of peace. It reveals how the British ruling class collaborated with their German class brethren in bringing Hitler to power in Germany in order to crush the threatening German social revolution, to smash the German Bolsheviks; "they were delighted with his performance and encouraged German rearmament for the purpose of smashing the Soviet Union which Hitler had long boasted as his chief aim."

"By the Munich Pact . . . the British and French ruling classes had built up Hitler's regime in Germany so far, had surrendered so many stra-

* Earl Browder, *The People's Road to Peace*. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

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tegic points, had so thoroughly destroyed their own moral standing by open complicity with Hitler's crimes, that it was already an open question as to which side was the stronger and, therefore, according to the rules of imperialism, entitled to rule the world. The Frankenstein built up over several years had escaped from the control of its makers."

Proceeding from this analysis Comrade Browder reveals the factors which created the outbreak of this second imperialist war. From the viewpoint of the imperialists this war was "the wrong war"; it was not the war for which they had been feverishly preparing, that is, a war against the Soviet Union. The imperialist governments, with the aid of the discredited leaders of the Second International, had attempted to switch the "wrong war for the right war."

But, as the report explains, the Soviet - German Non - Aggression Pact knocked into a pile of ruins the whole grand strategy of the camp of Chamberlain-Daladier-Second International which had been built upon the fixed idea of using Hitler Germany in their aim to destroy the Soviet Union.

Comrade Browder clearly demonstrates that the British and French imperialists made preparations, not for the defense of democracy, but for the use of a strong Hitler movement to crush democracy throughout Europe, and thereby the Anglo-French bourgeoisie gambled away the independence of nations and brought disaster to their own lands.

"They staked the most precious interests of their own peoples. They played with the peace of the world, with the lives of tens of millions of helpless and unknowing people. They gambled—and they lost."

With the world engulfed in war, Comrade Browder's report shows how the war can be stopped and peace obtained by the peoples of the world. It shows that peace and a better world can be achieved through struggle led by the working class and through victory of the workers over their own imperialists and reactionaries.

The report shows that the war designs of American monopoly capital are designs as well for warring against the American people. A struggle of the people against war means an intensified, persistent struggle against the domestic depredations of monopoly capital. Attacks on civil rights, "anti-trust" prosecutions of trade unions, hysterical assaults on the legislative gains and the political rights of the people, frameups and prosecutions against the Communist Party, the betrayal of promises of democratic reforms for the South, etc., are but the other side of the American bourgeoisie's policy of reactionary war abroad, a war policy against which the American people must wage a struggle in their own interests.

Comrade Browder's report emphasizes the impelling motives of American imperialist policy in the present war situation.

"Fear of revolutionary upheaval

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in Europe, and the determination to hold it down by all means is the most powerful general motive driving the American ruling circles toward entrance into the war as a belligerent. Capitalism must be preserved at all costs in Europe if Wall Street is to feel safe in America. That is what the American newspapers and statesmen mean when they say: 'In Europe they are fighting our battles for us, and we must help them.'"

The Convention addresses itself to the workers and all toilers of America in this momentous hour, calling for firmness in struggle by all who stand for peace and defense of the people's rights. The Communist Party, knowing that it voices the deepest desire of the overwhelming majority of the American people, calls for closed ranks to oppose the deadly drive, under pretext of "defense," to engulf the people of the United States and the two American continents in this imperialist war of plunder on the side of Anglo-French imperialism.

We call upon the people to resist and defeat the efforts of the Fifth Columnists of finance capital to black out the attainments of centuries of struggle for elementary liberties, for labor's rights, for economic and social gains. We call upon the people to fight against the poison gas of war hysteria. We call upon the people to stand on guard against reaction's old and oft-repeated method of sundering the masses from their vanguard, by singling out for special attack, as Hitler did, first of all, the Communist Party, the consistent, valiant champion of the oppressed. A blow aimed at the Communists, in America, as in Germany and in France, is a blow aimed at the people. We call upon labor and all the common people to defend themselves by defending the Communist Party and its leaders, to defeat the red-baiters and the warmongering Social-Democratic labor-splitters.

In the report of Comrade Browder, this Convention presents a platform of struggle for the economic, social and political needs of all the laboring masses, the unemployed, the native and foreign-born workers, the Negro people, and the young generation and the aged. In this crucial campaign, the *true America of the people* is pitted *against* the camp of the Republican and Democratic Parties of exploiters, oppressors, lynchers, chauvinists, and war incendiaries, and their camp-follower, the Socialist Party.

Into the face of repression and provocation, our Party moves forward, depending upon its growing strength and indestructible connections with the laboring masses, who increasingly come to recognize the Party's vanguard role.

The report of Comrade Browder, in behalf of the united leadership of our Party, splendidly symbolizes its monolithic unity. Both in leadership and membership, our Party has unflinchingly faced the storm of reaction in these crucial months of imperialist war.

We pledge ourselves to forge ever stronger bonds with the working class, with the toiling farmers, with the Negro people, with all the popular forces which are ranging themselves into the anti-imperialist people's front.

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We pledge ourselves to carry out unremittingly the program of action presented by Comrade Browder in his report, to fight with might and main in the forefront of the mass struggle to achieve the purposes set forth in the report, to give constant, clear-sighted leadership to the working class, exemplified by the National Committee, headed by Comrade Browder, to make our Party worthy of the great traditions of the international labor movement.

Through this Convention, our entire Party pledges itself to rally the working class and all its allies to defend the freedom of Comrade Browder, to keep him in the ranks of the workers, as the best guide and leader of the masses in the struggles unfolding.

We will carry on the struggle for the preservation and extension of the heritage of revolutionary struggle of the great American people since the founding of this Republic with the overthrow of the yoke of British oppression. We will rally the American people against the economic royalists—the enslavers of our day—the warmongers who would trample upon the Americanism which is the conquest of generations of American toilers.

In the spirit of the report of Comrade Browder, we resolve to build and steel the ranks of our Party. We are proud to bear the high title of member of the Communist Party of the United States of America. Let us raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism. We are proud to be associated with the Communist International. We are proud to be associated with the greatest thinkers and heroes of all history and of all lands—with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We are proud to be associated with Dimitroff, Thaelmann, Thorez, Gallacher, Diaz, and Pasionaria, and with the militant leaders of the rising young Latin American working class and Communist movements—Blas Roca, Encina, Labarca, Prestes, and with the great Filipino leader, Evangelista, with Tim Buck of Canada, and many others. We are proud to be associated in the ranks of proletarian internationalism with the greatest thinker, leader and builder of our time, who carried the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin to new heights, to the victorious establishment of socialism, to the period of transition to communism, to the safeguarding of the Soviet Union and its achievements against the furious dying struggles of a hostile capitalist world—the great Stalin.

RESOLUTION ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR THE SOUTH

THE struggle of the people against the menace of war, against the economic crisis with its unemployment and starvation, and against the fascist-like encroachments upon their political rights, imperatively

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demands an immediate nationwide fight against the special forms of denial of democratic rights to the Southern people. The greater exploitation of the Southern people, both white and Negro, and the lower standards of living and of civil liberties, are due first of all to the special measures utilized to force the lowest economic standards and denial of civil rights upon the Negro people.

The national oppression of the Negro is not simply a survival of slavery; it is largely the result of a deliberate revival and restimulation of the historic traditions of slavery in the interest of class privilege. The national bloc of reaction of the country as a whole has its strongest foundation in the Southern bloc of reaction which is particularly free of all responsibility to the people because of the denial of democracy in the South. In the eight Southern "poll tax" states, the heart of the former slave territory, three-quarters of the population are excluded from all representation in the United States Congress. The places of potential representatives of the people are usurped by agents of political corruption and reaction, such as Dies, Starnes, Cox, Smith and others, "elected" by a mere handful of poll-tax receipts while the vast majority of the people are deprived of the vote. While the Southern people are more in distress and more in need of progressive legislation than any other, ten million Southern men and women, entitled under the Constitution to vote, are denied the ballot. Such ostensible "representatives" speak in their name and support every attack against the Southern people's interests.

The double exploitation and enslavement of the Negro people, and the almost equal exploitation and enslavement of the white laboring people of the South, has been intensified by gradual encroachments during the past eighty years. "White primaries" openly exclude Negroes outright from voting, while the one-party political system makes the primaries decisive. By the device of the "poll tax," equally in defiance of the Constitution, from 76 to 90 per cent of the constitutionally entitled voters are deprived of the vote, while practical abolition of secrecy of the ballot permits the terrorization and coercion of large sections of the voters. Election laws designed to keep minority parties off the ballot are used to reinforce the one-party system. Grossly unconstitutional restrictions of the right to vote disfranchise both white and Negro workers and farmers.

Such legal subterfuges accompanied by open terroristic practices are used by the political cliques of the propertied classes of Southern communities in order to nullify the Bill of Rights and the 14th and 15th Amendments of the United States Constitution.

At the high point of popularity of the Roosevelt Administration and of its gestures toward democratic reform, the aspiration of the Southern masses to sweep away these ugly revivals of slave traditions seemed about to find a channel of struggle and of unity with the progressive forces of the North through the New Deal.

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But now the same Roosevelt Administration, in the fever of desire to drag our country into the European war, and sensing that the democratic masses of this country are opposed to its war intrigues, is attempting to halt this movement and thwart the will of the South, reverting to the old "gentlemen's agreement" between the Republican and Democratic Parties for the suppression of democracy in the South in the interest of war-mad reaction.

The Democratic and Republican parties, in this 1940 election campaign, conspire to continue the denial of Constitutional rights to the Southern people regardless of words they may think it opportune to write in their election programs, while the Supreme Court, in effect, repeats its Dred Scott Decision a dozen times a year to support these tyrannies. At the same time, a great mass movement to restore these Constitutional rights to the South is getting under way, not alone in the South, but on a nationwide scale, which can and must embrace the entire labor movement and the entire Negro people, as well as all other progressive forces of the cities and the countryside.

There exists no political party that will consistently develop and organize this movement except the Communist Party. Therefore the condition of the success of this movement for restoration of Constitutional rights to the Southern people—denied to them ever since the Hayes Administration of eighty years ago—is the building up and strengthening of the Communist Party of our country, both in the North and in the South among Negroes and among the industrial workers and trade unionists.

The Communist Party resolves to give full aid and support toward every potentially effective effort to restore to the people of the South, white and Negro, their Constitutional rights. We fight for such measures as the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill, as well as all measures for safeguarding the right to organize in all parts of the South, the application of the Wages and Hours Law without a differential discriminating against the South, the Federal Anti-Lynching Law, and all measures for the complete abolition of discrimination as between Negroes and whites in wages, the right to jobs, admission to trade unions; for the ending of residential segregation, discrimination in public places and conveyances, and exclusion from restaurants, hotels, etc.—in short, the Jim-Crow system of discrimination, both North and South, which, together with the continued crime of lynching, is the brutal survival of the slave system blighting the lives of the people of the South, white as well as Negro, and spreading its poison northward, endangering the life of the nation.

The Convention resolves to raise the struggle for democratic rights for the South to nationwide mass proportions during the 1940 election campaign.

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RESOLUTION ON LATIN AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES

SINCE the outbreak of the imperialist war the United States Government has abandoned the trend toward a "Good Neighbor" policy and has begun flagrant encroachments upon the independence of the Latin American republics. North American imperialism seeks to utilize the peoples of Latin America and the Philippines in its own plans for participation in the frightful massacre. With imperialism in a mad scramble to redivide the world, the American ruling class has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to take physical hold of the Caribbean islands and South and Central America and openly sweep away the independence of two-score American nations. The proposals that the islands and other possessions of European powers in Latin America shall pass into the control, not of the peoples of Latin America but of North American imperialism, together with the staking out of the so-called three-hundred mile limit, the creation of the International American Bank, and increasing pressure against the peoples and countries of Latin America, give evidence that the American ruling class now strives to fasten tight its control over all these countries at the cost of their independence.

Wall Street pursues its predatory policies in various forms. In Mexico it works to undermine and disrupt the present popular regime, while preparing with the reactionary Almazan forces to nullify the impending victory of the people in the presidential election, by organizing an armed uprising in the manner of Franco; it uses every possible political, economic and diplomatic pressure to force the Chilean People's Front Government to capitulate to the reactionary forces in that country; in Cuba it endeavors to reestablish the notorious Platt Amendment and plans to transform the whole island into a military and naval base; Puerto Rico, direct colony of American imperialism, is being transformed into a huge military fort; the Philippines are to be turned into a base for struggle for the Dutch East Indies and hegemony in the Pacific.

Roosevelt's call for 50,000 airplanes for "continental protection" is well understood by the peoples of Latin America. The continental "defense" plans of United States imperialism contemplate the establishment of military air and naval bases throughout Latin America, to be accompanied by a transfer of sovereignty over the natural strategic bases of defense of the Latin American countries. To the Latin American peoples the meaning of "protection of small nations" by imperialist powers has been made clear by these as well as European events.

The peoples of Latin America and the Philippines indicate their understanding of this grave threat to

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their liberty and national independence. The labor and progressive movements in the Latin American countries have demonstrated their hatred of imperialism and the desire of their peoples to control their own national destinies. The Latin American and Philippine peoples understand that their real protection lies in the furtherance of their united anti-imperialist struggle.

The Convention sends its warm fraternal greetings to the peoples of Latin America and the Philippines and the assurance that it will do all in its power to mobilize the people of the United States against the predatory plans of Wall Street imperialism.

The Convention greets the heroic peoples of Mexico, Chile and Cuba, who, through their great democratic and anti-imperialist achievements, are in the vanguard of the struggle of the Latin American peoples against the imperialist attacks.

The Convention sends its warm fraternal greetings to our brother Communist Parties south of the Rio Grande and in the Philippines which are displaying great heroism in the task of rallying the people to the anti-imperialist struggle. In solidarity with the peoples of Puerto Rico and the Philippines our Party supports their demand for national independence from the yoke of American imperialism.

For the accomplishment of these great objectives, the American working class stands under the duty to render every assistance to its brothers in Latin America and the Philippines. The working class and anti-imperialist forces will establish their own anti-imperialist good-neighbor policy and strive to reach ever higher stages in inter-continental collaboration and unity.

RESOLUTION ON THE SOVIET UNION

IN A world where the entire machinery of production, necessary to the continued life of the people, is held in the private ownership and for the sole benefit of a wealthy class no longer necessary to the process of industry, a class which permits no production while production is not profitable to itself—

In the richest country of the world, where ten million workers are unemployed and the most powerful industrial plant of all time is held largely in idleness only because its social use is subject to the blackmail of its wealthy class, monopoly capital—

The eyes of the American workers, farmers, intellectuals, and impoverished middle classes inevitably turn toward that part of the world in which these impediments to life and happiness have been overcome and have given way to a new order of society, socialism. It is because

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the eyes of the disinherited look eagerly toward the happy and prosperous Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that the present unprecedented barrage of lies about "Soviet imperialism" and "poverty and inefficiency in Soviet Russia" is hurled at the great socialist state; it is due precisely to the fear of the wealthy classes that the eyes of America will see and understand that parasite classes need not be permitted to hold any nation in bondage and to stop its economic processes, to starve its people in idleness.

Rising high above the capitalist chaos of rusting idle factories of useful production, and other factories feverishly engaged in the production of machinery of death—above the sea of blood of imperialist war—the magnificent structure of socialism in the largest state of the whole world, covering one-sixth of the earth, stands as the strongest and most permanent of the achievements of mankind. It is the proof to all suffering mankind that socialism, with the national economy in the hands of the nation, planned and ruled by a democracy of all the people, is the higher new order of society which can bring peace, prosperity and happiness to all.

It is proof that the first ideal of socialism—born in the most advanced minds of cultured mankind, brought to a science by Marx and Engels, and further developed and put into living practice by Lenin and Stalin as the leaders and teachers of the working class of the world—is no idle dream, but the most decisive and the most powerful reality. The Bolshevik Communist Party of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has carried through the objective stated by the Communists in 1848: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to achieve democracy."

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, the working class knew how to "use its political supremacy to wrest by degrees all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class."

Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the further step foreseen by Marx "to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible" has been realized in the first, second and third Five-Year Plans, and the great popular democratic initiative of the Stakhanov movement. Socialism made possible that which was impossible under capitalism: the collectivization of agriculture. Collectivization is in itself a gigantic revolution removing the last barrier to the transition to the classless society of communism. Socialist agriculture wipes out the age-old inferiority of the peasant farmer, it opens the path for attainment of universal prosperity, and has made possible, to the chagrin of imperialist schemers in far-away capitals, the enormous reserves necessary for the millionfold Red Army that stands guard over the peaceful construction of the communist society.

By the Stalin Constitution the oppressed of the world learn the meaning of democracy for the peo-

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ple themselves. Previous achievements of measured liberty, the Bill of Rights of the British, American and French revolutions, are carried to infinitely higher stages in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Freedom of speech, press and assemblage are raised for the people to the reality—possession and use of the radio, of the press, of the nation's great buildings and cultural and political institutions thrown open at last and for all time to all the people. In contrast we see the undermining of the Bill of Rights of our country, when "freedom of the press" tends to become but the liberty of a few dissolute millionaire families to own and control a diminished and monopolized newspaper press, while "freedom of speech" tends to become the freedom of the heads of the great financial institutions to monopolize and control and debauch the new gigantic machinery of speech, the radio.

The dictatorship of the proletariat —the raising of the "proletariat to the position of ruling class"—proves indeed to be the "achievement of democracy"; while bourgeois "democracy" rapidly gives way to open dictatorship of monopoly capital in absolute control of the nation's means of life and intercourse. The bringing of Hitler to power and his building up by the "democratic" bourgeoisie of the West, and the savage joy with which American ruling classes hailed the establishment of an open totalitarian dictatorship in England, allegedly "for the duration of the war," together with the arrest of the 72 deputies of the people in France in order that the "government of treason and defeat" may rule with a majority of one—this is the measure of the love of American bankers for democracy.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics leads the way of civilization out of the medieval jungle of "race" persecution and prejudice. From the midst of a capitalist world which cannot continue on its chosen path without debauching the people with "racial" and national persecutions, with anti-Semitism and Negro-baiting—and particularly from our own country where the ugly cult of so-called "race superiority" finds habitual expression in the lynching and burning alive of human beings—we look toward the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and see the solution of these so-called problems. Half a hundred different peoples and nationalities of many tongues and colors of skin live together in amity, are developing their cultures and teaching the world that this can only be the result of the leadership of the working class in cooperation with the oppressed and persecuted peoples and races everywhere.

The achievement of socialism in one-sixth of the world is not the gain of one people or one country alone but of all of the peoples of the earth. The completion and building up of socialism to indestructible strength is a decisive guarantee to all mankind that its civilization and culture will not and cannot be destroyed by the war-mad imperialists now engaged in mass slaughter and enslavement of nations.

The stubborn, unbreakable, growing determination of the workers, the toilers and the oppressed peoples of the whole world to defend

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the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is their guarantee of the independence and freedom of their own native lands.

Amidst all of the imperialist aggressions, the decisive thing is this:

That the strongest power in Europe and Asia is not a capitalist state, but a socialist state.

The hope of peace without the destruction of mankind depends upon the invincible military strength of the socialist state. Its great Red Army of socialism is the enemy of no people, but a friend of all peoples and of the workers of the world. The wise foresight of the Bolshevik Party and its leader Stalin in putting through with the greatest possible speed the building up of the gigantic modern industry of socialism and collectivization of agriculture has, by enabling socialism to possess the most powerful army on earth, made the greatest contribution to the peace and freedom of all peoples.

The foreign policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, unlike the foreign policies of all other great powers, is determined not by the councils of bankers and monopolies, not in the interests of superprofits from export capital, but by the democratic will of the great mass of workers and collective farmers of the socialist country, and solely in the interests of peace, freedom and socialism. The refusal of the socialist state to desert its policy of seeking peace among all nations, its rejection of the efforts to draw the great socialist country into the present imperialist slaughter as a cat's-paw of the British war-makers, its signing of the non-aggression pact with Germany which kept the two largest powers of the European continent from conflict with each other—constitutes the greatest contribution made toward the limitation of the present slaughter and toward its ultimate ending without the domination of the world by either or any imperialist camp. Its quick and effective protection of the peoples of West Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia and its resolute and highly efficient destruction of the instruments and fortifications of British imperialism in Finland are the guarantee that its peace policy is one to be carried out and not merely to be talked about.

By the measure of their hate of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics we can recognize the makers of war.

We Americans reject the sinister plan of American and Anglo-French imperialism to transform the war between the rival imperialists into a war of united imperialism against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Such would be the most reactionary war of all history, surpassing even the retrograde aims of the Southern slave-owners against our own American Republic in 1861, when the founders of the Communist movement, Marx and Engels, hailed the Republic of Lincoln as "the only popular government in the world" and rallied the workers of Europe to prevent the threatened British and French intervention on behalf of the slave-owners, and recruited in Europe international volunteers for Lincoln's Army.

The American workers, the American farmers, the American people,

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uncorrupted by the fifth column of Wall Street-English-French imperialism, will reject the machinations for war against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the most dangerous and destructive assault upon the interests of the American people themselves. In 1776, Lafayette, Kosciusko, von Steuben and Thomas Paine defended the new-born American Republic in the interest of progress, enlightenment and the liberty of the world. That noble example is in our day raised to a still higher level in international proletarian solidarity, when we, the American people, defend the peace policy of the socialist state in the sacred interests of the liberty, civilization, culture and the progress of all people.

We hail the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the great Bolshevik Communist Party of that country, founded by Lenin and led so nobly by the great Stalin.

RESOLUTION ON PERSECUTION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN

THE drive to stir up hysteria against the millions of foreign-born is a calculated effort to break down the resistance of the majority of the people who oppose our country's involvement in the imperialist war. The rights, welfare and peace not only of the foreign-born but of all labor and of the whole people are at stake.

The proposal to fingerprint and register nearly 4,000,000 non-citizens is a threat not only to these non-citizens, and not only to naturalized Americans as well, but also to the native-born citizen masses. It is especially directed against labor in the basic industries, as a means of terrorization among communities of foreign-born workers.

Forcing non-citizens off the WPA rolls, denying them relief, robbing them of the right to work, and subjecting them to starvation, serve to break down wages and living standards and the social legislative measures affecting the whole of the American people. The transfer of the Immigration Bureau from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice, like the bills in the United States Congress threatening the foreign-born with concentration camps and deportation, reflects the attitude of the Roosevelt Administration that the foreign-born population of our country is best to be dealt with by the arm of criminal law. It is an effort to divide the population and weaken its resistance to the drive toward war. It is an effort to stir up the chauvinism so useful to the war-makers.

But the Administration goes far beyond the persecution of non-citizens in this policy of abrogation of civil rights. In defiance of the 15th Amendment of the United States Constitution, the Department of Justice has begun a policy of "cancellation of citizenship" against its political opponents. Among

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American citizens, it actively attempts to set up two categories of citizenship—one, of native citizens whose citizenship is unqualified, the other, of naturalized citizens whose citizenship is held to be provisional, subject to reopening and cancellation whenever the naturalized citizen exercises his free political rights adversely to the Administration.

Under the momentum of this drive, corporations begin to require every employee to fill out a full questionnaire that can be used, not only as a blacklist against foreign-born workers, but also as an instrument of political coercion of the mass of the workers in the shops.

We call upon the foreign-born masses to reject the efforts of the Social-Democrats who pretend they represent the non-citizen masses and are trying to tie them to the war program of President Roosevelt.

The millions of foreign-born and their American-born families, who have helped to create the wealth of this country and built up its institutions are not alone in their struggle to preserve their rights. They have not only a right but a duty to be a part of the organized labor movement of this country, and to help protect its living standards and the democratic achievements of the people. We call upon the native-born masses to rally to the defense of their foreign-born fellow workers and fellow Americans.

Facilitate naturalization of the non-citizen masses.

Defeat the projected measures against non-citizens and naturalized Americans!

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THE FARMERS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR PROGRAM

BY JAMES S. ALLEN

(Report delivered on May 31, 1940, to the Farm Conference at the Eleventh National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America.)

THE one problem that is uppermost in the mind of the farmer today is how to keep the United States out of the imperialist war. Every method of demagogy and deceit is being used to combat the strong anti-war sentiment of the people, while the Roosevelt Administration and Wall Street, heartily supported by the Republican "opposition" and their "Socialist" helpmates, take one rapid step after another leading towards American involvement.

In his report for the National Committee, Comrade Browder has placed the main emphasis in the work of the Party as a whole upon the central task of rallying the masses in the struggle against the war-and-hunger program of "our own" bourgeoisie. Our work at this conference must be directed toward preparing our Party to bring the farm masses, on the basis of their deep desire for peace and for a decent livelihood, into active alliance with the working class in the struggle against American involvement in the criminal war.

We must know how to make clear to the farm masses that they have nothing to expect from the imperialist war except greater privation and suffering; that Roosevelt and the Republicans are in the same war party and that any of the farm leaders tying up with either of the major parties are thereby helping to lure the farmers into the war camp. We must explain how the Roosevelt farm program is part of the general plan of the imperialist bourgeoisie to make the farmers and the workers bear the burden of the tremendous war preparations, while the monopolies and the big capitalist farms garner the profits. We must put forth an immediate program of action as well as farm planks in the election platform, based on the most pressing needs of the working farmers, which will enable them most effectively to advance their interests. We must seek ways to strengthen collaboration of the farming masses with progressive labor, working towards an anti-monopoly, anti-war farmer-labor party. We must carefully re-examine our methods of work among the farmers, with a view to overcoming

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Social-Democratic influences among the farmers and farm workers, to strengthening the influence of the working class and its organizations among them, to overcoming the dangerous gap in Party farm work, and to building our Party in the rural areas.

I. The War and the Farmers

The strong and traditional anti-war position of the farmers, which has always served as the basis of isolationist politics, is a serious obstacle to the war drive of Roosevelt and Wall Street. The farmers remember well the results of the first World War, which precipitated the chronic agricultural crisis. Accordingly, the war party is already beginning to direct the full barrage of its propaganda upon the farmers, even to the extent of attempting to create panic by hysterical "revelations" of the vulnerability of St. Louis and Omaha to a *Blitzkrieg*.

At the same time, an attempt is being made to use the farmer as a scapegoat to break down the resistance of the people to the extension of war loans. Warmongers are telling the farmers that if credit restrictions are lifted the Allies will buy large quantities of farm products, and still others are seeking to obtain their support for amendments to the Johnson and Neutrality Acts to permit credits for the purchase of "farm commodities only." These attempts to open the way for war credits have not yet been opposed by any of the national farm leaders, although the Farmers Union had previously gone on record against the extension of credits for any purpose. In fact, some of the farm leaders are helping to spread this deception by urging the Administration to require the Allies to balance their purchases of war materials with purchases of farm products, a position which may lead directly to support of war loans, provided they include agricultural provisions.

The war party is also seeking to convince the farmers that an extended war, including American participation on the side of the Allies, will provide them material benefits in the form of expanding markets and higher prices, even though these benefits are not immediately apparent.

But the farmers have learned again during the past eight months what to expect from the war. Despite the predictions freely made at the outbreak of the conflict in Europe that the war would solve many of their difficulties, the farmers find that it is bringing catastrophe. Farm exports have fallen drastically, "surpluses" remain, prices have receded from the slight gain of last fall and are now tumbling, farmers' purchasing power has been slashed. Even Secretary of Agriculture Wallace has to admit that farm exports, already low, will decline another 30 per cent during the year and that they "will be smaller than they would have been had the world remained at peace."

On the other hand, exports and profits of the war industries, the leading monopolized industries in the country, are skyrocketing, as Roosevelt places the industrial resources of the country at the disposal of Anglo-French imperialism.

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These developments, as well as the stupendous Roosevelt appropriations for war, are rapidly shifting the economy of our country to a war basis, at the expense of other branches of our economy, especially agriculture.

If we look briefly into the reasons for the drop in farm exports we shall understand why there can be no important pick-up for the farmer, no matter how rapidly the war spreads nor how long it continues. What he has to expect is a more devastating farm crisis than was produced by the last war.

To begin with, every extension of the war destroys markets for American farm products, as has already happened in the case of Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland. Furthermore, the trade policy of the Allied imperialisms, including that of the United States, is now a part of their war policy. It is being used principally by Britain as a means of strengthening its own empire and forcing neutrals into the Allied camp. The blockade against Germany, now extended through contraband control and import quotas to the chief neutral powers with which the United States carries on trade, has already cut heavily into farm exports. The Allies have also piled up large stocks, increased their own acreages and subjected their own people to food rationing and controls to keep down normal consumption and cut down on food imports.

The Allied buying policy with regard to the United States is to eliminate food purchases here, while using this heavily industrialized country for supplies of airplanes and other instruments and materials of war. To this policy the Administration lends its willing support, as a non-belligerent ally, at the expense of the farmers and non-war industries.

Now can the war be expected to reduce drastically farm "surpluses," since it takes place as the culmination of a long period of economic crisis throughout the capitalist world. One of the results of that crisis is the existence of large stocks of farm products which cannot be sold to impoverished populations, which now as a result of the war are becoming even more impoverished. At the present time these so-called surpluses are higher than ever before. The world carry-over of old wheat at the end of the current season will set a new record and will be sufficient, without additional production, to supply the export market for at least two years. Half the carry-over will be in Canada, Australia and Argentina, countries tied to British imperialism. In these countries alone, all the food requirements of the Allies can be met even without further expansion.

Another deception practised by the warmongers is the argument that even if no marked increase in farm exports is to be expected, the stimulation of industry by the war will increase purchasing power and therefore improve the domestic market. Here, again, the first eight months of the war bring proof to the contrary. Despite the large exports of war supplies, industrial activity as a whole contracted sharply. Even if industrial exports should rise steeply during the next period

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as a result of even greater Administration collaboration with the Allies, this in itself will not lead to any general re-employment because the monopolized war industries are the most highly rationalized. What will result is a further rise in prices of manufactured products, particularly farm machinery and other products which the farmers buy, and a further reduction in the purchasing power of the masses as they are forced to bear the burden of war preparations.

The American farmers can only look forward to a period of sharper crisis as the war continues and spreads. *He therefore constitutes a great force for peace and is directly concerned with stopping the imperialist slaughter.*

The mass of farmers can be counted upon to continue their opposition to American involvement all the more because they still suffer from the effects of the last war. They remember that two years after the World War was over, farm prices dropped 41 per cent and farm income 46 per cent. They know that the price spread between the farm value and the retail value of their commodities doubled, and that this swollen margin, hiding a huge profit for the processing monopolies, has not been appreciably reduced to this very day; that farm income has dropped from 18 per cent of the national total to 8.9 per cent; that their debt was doubled at the end of the last war and remained at that level during two decades of chronic crisis, leading to an avalanche of forced sales and ruin on the countryside. They know that because of the large concentration of youth on the countryside, due to the prolonged economic crisis, more than two sons of the farmer will be drafted for war for every son in the cities.

While noting the widespread peace sentiment in the farm areas, we must, at the same time, recognize that many illusions still exist among the farmers and that it is precisely among them that anti-war sentiment is least crystallized in organizational form. A passive isolationism exists among them which must be transformed into an *active* anti-war position. It is true that the two largest farmers' organizations, the Grange and the Farm Bureau, passed general anti-war resolutions; but that the national leaders of these organizations are cooperating either with the Administration or the Republicans to halt every independent step by the local organizations to put these resolutions into life.

Following Roosevelt's war preparations speech to Congress, President Edward A. O'Neal of the Farm Bureau telegraphed Roosevelt blanket assurances of complete support, no matter what he might undertake. The Grange had already gone on record for "proper appropriations for national defense" and its leadership generally tags along after the Republican wing of the war camp.

The Farmers Union was the only national organization at the beginning of the war which characterized it as imperialist, opposed war credits to the belligerents and called attention to the hysterical attack upon the civil liberties of the people. But despite the good anti-

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war position taken at the convention of the Farmers Union, this organization has as yet taken no initiative in developing the struggle among the farmers against war, and some of its leaders show a dangerous tendency to be lured into the Administration war camp.

We cannot expect to rally the farmers to the side of the workers against the imperialist war, or combat the demagogy and deceit of Roosevelt and the Republicans in the elections, unless a determined struggle is carried out within the farm organizations against the manipulations of certain leaders, whether with the Democrats or the Republicans, to drag the people into war.

In approaching this problem, we must emphasize that among the farmers the chief base for the propaganda for war prosperity is first and foremost among the bigger capitalist farmers—the 8 per cent who produce more than 40 per cent of the total marketed products, who are most closely tied with big finance and the monopoly processors and who obtain the major benefit of any increase in markets and prices. From this base, the war party seeks to broaden out among the middle farmers. It is these middle farmers, who comprise the most numerous group in commercial production, especially who must be enlightened on the price-market demagogy of the war party and be won away from those farm leaders who represent the interests of the big capitalist farmers and the monopolies.

On the other hand, the main base for developing mass action against the war program is among the small farmers. If we consider as small farmers those whose annual gross income is below $1,000, we find that they constitute at least 56 per cent of all farmers and that they produce only about 10 per cent of the total value of the marketed crops. These farmers are not primarily concerned with any direct benefits which may be expected from expanded markets and higher prices, the chief appeal of the propaganda of war prosperity. War mobilization would draw heaviest upon them. It has even been suggested by the warmongering Washington *Times-Herald* that a million or so recruits for the army can immediately be gathered from this "surplus" and "unwanted" farm population. This major section of farmers undoubtedly constitutes the mass base of the anti-war movement among the farmers, to which can be won a large section of middle farmers.

In cooperation with progressive labor, working farmers are beginning to raise the slogans: No Credits to the Allies, Easy Credits to the Farmer! Starve the War and Feed America!

Our main task is to help develop this anti-war movement from below, deepening the farmers' understanding of the role of Roosevelt, the Republicans and the farm leaders supporting them, connecting this with action and struggle for immediate demands, and strengthening every bond of unity between the working farmers and progressive, anti-war labor.

II. The "New Deal" and the Farmers

Every positive aspect of the "New

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Deal," as it developed over the past few years, is being scrapped for war mobilization. This is especially true of the "New Deal" farm program, which at the best offered only incidental relief. When President Roosevelt in his budget message proposed to cut almost a half billion dollars in farm appropriations while adding the same amount to war expenditures, he was asking the farmers to bear a heavy share of the burden of war. When in his ranting message to Congress he demanded well over one billion dollars for war in addition to two billions already requested, he was serving notice on both the farmers and workers that they would be asked to bear even a more oppressive burden.

War is becoming Roosevelt's solution for everything. The Administration's position on the farm crisis can be summed up in this simple philosophy: Let the war take care of the farmers, Roosevelt will take care of the war.

However, we must take into consideration that the "New Deal" aroused support among the farmers, because they believed it to be an organized effort to solve some of their problems and many saw in it an opportunity for cooperation with labor and other progressive forces against monopoly. This appeal of the immediate past serves today as a basis for Administration efforts to regain the support of the farmers. Nor must we forget that the Socialists are also capitalizing on this appeal of by-gone days to help put across the Roosevelt war program.

With this in mind, it is necessary to examine the record of the "New Deal" and to measure its accomplishments in the light of the needs of the farmers and the announced objectives of the "great reform."

The chief aim of the "New Deal," the purpose of all its crop reduction and marketing regulation, was said to be to raise farm prices to parity, that is, to establish the relationship between farm prices and non-farm prices which existed during 1909-14. Undoubtedly, the farmer who has anything to sell would benefit by bringing farm prices more into line with others prices. However, it must be noted that even if the restoration of parity were achieved this would by no means alleviate to any important degree the situation of the mass of farmers. From parity, the small farmers, because of their negligible marketings, can expect almost nothing even in indirect benefits, while the benefits received by the middle farmer would be insufficient to offset his heavy burden of debt, the fluctuations of the market and the competition of large and more efficient producers.

But even within these limitations, has the "New Deal" restored parity? By April, in this eighth year of Roosevelt, and before the more recent slump in farm prices due to the rapid spread of the war in Western Europe, wheat was 25 per cent below parity; corn 40 per cent; cotton 37 per cent; apples 31 per cent; flue-cured tobacco 37 per cent.

But even more important than farm prices is farm income, and here the gap is even greater. The Monopoly Committee (T.N.E.C.) was recently told by a leading government agricultural economist that

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farm income is now 45 per cent below parity.

And the gap is being rapidly widened, as the war increases the profits of monopoly and sets farm prices and income tumbling.

The "New Deal" has failed miserably with regard to its immediate objectives of parity. At the same time, it has most directly benefited the bigger farms and the corporation farms, and strengthened finance capital's domination over agriculture, while squeezing the family-sized farmer from production.

It became a well-known fact that the "New Deal" measures were not intended to help the small farmers. When confronted with demands in behalf of the small producers, Administration leaders have denied that they stand in need of any special protection, and at most have made only slight and grudging concessions. With regard to the small farmers it was assumed that they were unnecessary to production and were therefore only of incidental concern in the main objectives of the "New Deal." Not only was nothing done of direct benefit to them, but crop reduction and marketing control, which amounts to the same thing, caused the eviction of thousands of tenants and sharecroppers, reduced the income of small farmowners further, and harmed a large sector of the middle farmers as well, without at the same time bringing about any reduction in so-called surpluses.

Were the benefit payments associated with crop reduction of real help to the farmers? The small producer has been favored only with "leakages" from the main flow of benefit payments to the bigger producers, while many tenants and sharecroppers have been cheated entirely of even the little due them. The insurance companies, the banks, the corporation farms were placed on the same scale of even-handed justice as the dirt farmer, each receiving his proportion of the benefits, whether it was one-half acre or 1,000 acres taken out of production. A classic example of farm relief as practised by Roosevelt is the payment of almost two million dollars to twelve insurance companies in connection with the 1937 crop curtailment, while half the farmers participating in the program received below $40 each! The $10,000 limit set by Congress in 1938 still leaves a totally disproportionate share of benefits available to the largest farms, without adding anything to the benefits available for the small farms.

What has the Administration done with regard to the heavy burden of farm debt? The Administration spokesmen point with pride to the reduction of the rate of interest on current farm mortgages. But only one-third of the farms mortgaged have received a slight interest reduction, while Government credit operations were principally effective in bailing out the banks and private creditors to the tune of more than one billion dollars. The lower rate of interest has not, to any great degree, eased the tremendous burden of farm debt which, in the face of drastically reduced income, has hastened the separation of the farmer from his land. The tax burden has become heavier,

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especially upon the poor farmer, and the Administration is now increasing this load further through the war preparations program. During the first seven years of the "New Deal," about 1,200,000 farmers lost their homesteads through foreclosures. In whole sections of the country as many as forty out of every hundred farms went through forced sales during the last decade because of the farmers' inability to meet charges and payments on debts and taxes.

Government-sponsored agencies have now become the chief mortgagee of the farmer. The Federal land banks now hold nearly 40 per cent of the total outstanding farm mortgage debt. During the last year, more farms were foreclosed by Government land banks than by any other group of creditors holding farm mortgages. According to Secretary Wallace's own admission, more than 250,000 loans, or about 25 per cent of the total held by these banks, are now delinquent and face foreclosure.

A more severe foreclosure crisis is rapidly approaching, hastened by the war. Today, increasing numbers of farmers face foreclosure by the Federal Government. *This is now becoming a leading issue among the small and middle farmers.* They remember their "penny sales" against the banks and insurance companies, which forced moratoriums on mortgage debt in a number of states. They are now in a position to demand that the Federal Government prohibit all foreclosures at least on land held by its agencies—*and not only to demand but to employ those means, whether they be "penny sales" or other effective actions, which will force this immediate measure of relief from the Administration.*

If Roosevelt has done anything to stop the creation of new tenants, what has been the result of his much-tooted promise to alleviate tenancy? The Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act was passed in 1937 with the aim of rehabilitating tenants by making it easy for them to purchase farms. During 1939, with almost 150,000 applicants for tenant purchase loans, only 4,300 were granted, while at least 40,000 new tenant families were added during the same period. Instead of taking any steps in the expansion of the tenant-purchase program, the President has recommended a further cut in the appropriations for this purpose. He would thus assure the addition of many thousands to the nomadic armies of farm labor roaming the country in search of work; and Secretary Wallace has just admitted that about 350,000 farm families will shortly become migrants. Can it be that here too Roosevelt hopes that war will solve the problem for him by getting rid of the human farm surplus?

What has the Administration done to prevent the growth of large landed monopolies, the other main outcome of the wave of foreclosures? Today, in large sections of the mid-West and the South, public lending agencies and private credit institutions have taken over almost one-third of the total value of farm lands. Four leading groups of private lending agencies alone now hold 28,000,000 acres of land ac-

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quired by foreclosure, representing 125,000 former individual farms. In Iowa, with the highest proportion of fertile land in the United States, half the farmers are tenants and half the tenants rent land owned by corporations and insurance companies. Large sectors of land are now held by the federal and state governments, not as public domain in the old sense, but as the result of the expropriation of farm producers.

What is to be done with this land now held by the Government and the corporations? Should the corporation-held land, robbed from the farmers and now worked as chain farms, be permitted further to increase the profits of Big Business, pushing out the small producer? Or should this land, as well as the Government-held land, again be placed at the disposal of the working farmer, with adequate guarantees of security? *Eighty years after the enactment of the Homestead Act—that great victory for free soil—land is monopolized and imprisoned to such an extent that a new kind of Homestead Act is needed today.*

Let us now turn to another leading "New Deal" objective, which had been described by the President as "driving the money-changers from the temple"—curbing the power of the monopolies.

From the time Congress first handed down huge grants of land to the railroads, which in turn dispossessed many homestead settlers, the farmers have always placed first in their list of demands the curbing of the trusts and monopolies. Today they are faced with tremendous processing, distributing, transportation and industrial monopolies which take a heavy tribute from the farmers. On the one hand, the processing monopolies give the farmer less and less of the share of the consumers' dollar. On the other, farmers must pay high freight, warehouse and other charges; and the industrial monopolies peg at a high level the prices for farm machinery, implements, building materials, fertilizer and other products which the farmer buys. Four big meat packers alone in 1937 registered a profit of almost a half billion dollars, a sum equivalent to the reduction in farm appropriations suggested by the President in his budget message.

Here, in the holy temple of monopoly, Roosevelt fears to tread. Instead of forcing a regulation of monopoly prices, he has attempted to persuade the farmers to cut their own production; instead of curbing the trusts, he has entered a war pact of unity with them and is curbing the labor unions, the main force which, together with the farmers, can effectively fight the trusts and the war.

We now turn to another problem which the President at one time called the "nation's number one problem," and which has now somehow been lost together with the rest of the list. The South always has needed and especially today stands in need of a special farm program, over and above the program for the rest of the country. At no time has the Administration advanced any legislation designed to cope with problems peculiar only to the South, despite its oft-re-

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peated admission that here farm insecurity is greatest, exploitation is most extreme, and income and standards of living are lower than any any other section of the country. Benefit payments have remained almost exclusively in the hands of plantation masters, Government credit has operated to strengthen the position of the plantations, while the greatest proportion of landless and homeless farmers are created. The President's Committee on Tenancy has studied this problem and made some recommendations; Congressional committees have had evidence placed before them. But the Administration has done nothing, absolutely nothing of a positive character, while its forces have joined with their fellow Southern Democrats and the Republicans to sabotage the Anti-Lynching Bill.

We come now to certain subsidiary Administration relief measures. One of the most important of these, if energetically developed, is the distribution of surplus commodities under the stamp plan. This is one of the few steps undertaken which makes an effort to deal directly with the problem of distributing surpluses to those in need. But the limited funds appropriated for the stamp plan restricted its application so that it has made only a feeble dent in the "surpluses" and an equally feeble distribution to the unemployed. Although 1,000 cities have now asked for the stamp plan, only 100 are included under the program. We must note that the President indicated his disapproval of this type of direct and effective relief by asking Congress to slash $40,000,000 from last year's appropriation for this purpose. The President in his budget also asked for a 20 per cent cut in appropriations for the rural rehabilitation loans and grants of the Farm Security Administration, despite the fact that for lack of funds the F.S.A. has turned down 500,000 applicants for relief loans. In addition, the cuts already put through in the appropriation for the W.P.A. also directly affect the farmers in cutting down their employment on the projects in the rural areas.

These slashes in direct relief appropriations for farmer and unemployed alike and the whittling down of even the incidentally beneficial farm measures cannot be considered as separate from the whole Roosevelt program, which has become one of preparations for war and imperialist aggrandisement.

The Reciprocal Trade policy and the Good Neighbor policy, which were advanced partly as means of developing the foreign market for United States farm products, have in practice had little effect upon farm exports. Today, these policies are being transformed into instruments for imperialist expansion by the United States. Both the reciprocal trade and Good Neighbor policy are being used in Latin America today in an attempt to assure imports of raw materials needed for war from these countries, win the markets away from competing imperialist powers, and drag the Latin American countries along with the United States into the imperialist war. Even the pretensions of the Reciprocal Trade policy are being dropped as it gives

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way to more direct and forceful methods, such as barter and export subsidies, in the fierce competition for markets and war materials.

Under the circumstances of a rapidly developing war, with the Administration clearly heading for direct participation, the apparatus of control set up under the farm legislation easily lends itself to war mobilization. The stores of commodities now held by the Government can be used for purpose of war, as was shown by the deal with Britain bartering 600,000 bales of cotton for 85,000 tons of rubber. Under a war economy, the existing control over production can be made mandatory, forcing delivery of products at fixed low prices to the government. These potentialities are present in any system of farm production control established under the Roosevelt or any other war-and-hunger administration.

We must also emphasize the basic contradiction in the whole New Deal program, drawing lessons for the farmers who are eager for a fundamental solution. What the "New Deal" did was to try to solve the problem of "surpluses" from the wrong end, because to do otherwise would have meant to fight the trusts and monopolies. It attempted to persuade the farmer to produce less, while large masses of the people were in want of food and clothing. These attempts to destroy productive power in the face of widespread scarcity were in their very nature criminally anti-social.

Not only that: The failure of the "New Deal" to raise farm prices by crop and marketing regulation should go far in overcoming the illusion still prevalent among farmers that their problems can be solved by such measures. The "New Deal" farm experts have taken up the traditional farmers' demand for "cost of production" and transformed it into the illusion that the only way to obtain a higher income for the farmer is to destroy his means of income.

But any attempt to alleviate the agrarian crisis by crop reduction must fail, because such policies inevitably lead to further overproduction, as was shown on a world scale by the failure of the London Wheat Conference of 1933, and in the United States by increases in production following every major A.A.A. curtailment program.

It has again been demonstrated that crop regulation is impossible under conditions of capitalist production, which is essentially chaotic; and this is particularly true in agriculture—with its great diversity of producers and products and its dependence upon world production and markets.

The failure of the attempt to alleviate the farm crisis by limiting production and storing unmarketable surpluses reveals again that capitalism is unable to solve the problem of "surpluses" and markets. This problem can be solved only under socialism, which can permanently guarantee an ever-expanding market, because in such a social system the purchasing power of the people is equivalent to their producing power.

We must help the farmers to understand more fully the results of the "New Deal" program in action, and expose the renewed demagogic

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attempts of Secretary Wallace to save the face of the Roosevelt Administration by belated lip-service to the demands of the family-sized farmers. It is also necessary to expose those farm leaders who are now helping the Administration evade responsibility for its failure to alleviate the farm crisis.

III. The Republicans and the Farmers

It is to be noted that while some of the Farmers Union leaders are now being cultivated by the Administration in a demagogic election maneuver, the leaders of the Farm Bureau who have had the inside track in Washington as representatives of the big farmers are now tending to shift again to the Republicans.

These shifts and tendencies to regroup within the war camp reflect a weak attempt on the part of the Republicans to capitalize upon the deep anti-war sentiments and the dissatisfaction with the "New Deal" farm program among the farmers. It is important to emphasize that despite occasional misleading isolationist statements, the Republicans have avoided making an issue with the Administration on the war question. They agree fundamentally with Roosevelt's war policy and have no desire to agitate the people, even by demagogy, on this central issue of the day.

Even on farm issues the Republicans hesitate to attack the Administration program, for this program is essentially a further development of their own. They ride their favorite horse of economy less and less as Roosevelt obliges by taking that horse into his own stable, and as both wings of the war party support the stupendous war appropriations. Even the Republican demagogy on "private initiative" is fading as the Administration, in the name of its sacred national unity for war, grants even fuller "private initiative" to the monopolies.

In a feeble attempt to make an issue, Dewey, Vandenberg and Taft have again trotted forth the old Republican faithful — the McNary-Haugen plan, with great emphasis upon large-scale Government financing of exports. But even here it is difficult to make an issue, for the domestic allotment features of this plan are already incorporated in the existing farm legislation, and the Administration, as part of its war program, is turning more and more to export subsidies and barter in its fight for world markets. They have also cautiously advanced the old Republican demagogy on the tariff, with its direct appeal to processing and farming monopolies in restricted products; but the farmers know how the high tariff walls created by the Republican administrations have maintained high prices for industrial products and led to retaliation against United States farm products abroad.

The real Republican specialty, however, is revealed by Colonel Knox. This director of the Dawes bank in Chicago and friend of the packing trust and International Harvester appeared before the farmers as champion of the fight against monopolies and proposed to begin the fight by restricting the monopolistic practices of—labor unions! Too bad for this Don Qui-

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xote in search of windmills, for Roosevelt has already beaten him to the draw by putting his good man Arnold on the job. In the name of helping the farmer, Republican administrations in Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio have passed or attempted to pass anti-labor legislation. But on this score, too, the Democrats have joined with the Republicans in Congress, in the much abused cause of the farmers, to save the processing workers from the horrible benefits of the Wage-Hour Act.

In this game of playing the farmers off against the workers. Big Business has had the cooperation, not only of the Associated Farmers, its own direct offshoot, but also of the leaders of the Farm Bureau and the Grange, who have joined in the attacks on the National Labor Relations Board and the Wage-Hour Act. Groups in both organizations are fighting against the labor-baiting maneuvers of their leadership and it is necessary to strengthen this fight by bringing about closer cooperation between these groups, the Farmers Union, which opposed the Barden Bill, and the progressive trade unions.

In our work among the farmers during the election campaign, we must show them concretely that they can expect from Republicans and Democrats alike only a war-and-hunger program, further privileges to the factory farms and monopolies, further expropriation of the small and middle farmers.

While the Socialist Party has little organizational connections among the farmers, it is dangerous to ignore the influence of Social-Democratism in the rural areas, as an appendage of the Roosevelt war machine. The Socialists, in advancing demands for public ownership of railroads, utilities and banks, are attempting to capitalize on the traditional sentiment among the farmers for these demands. We must show the farmers that while the Government remains in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie, this so-called public ownership is only a means of centralizing monopoly control over every aspect of the economic life of the country. Such demands today are war demands, a part of the industrial mobilization for war, which are acceptable to a war administration.

IV. An Immediate Program for the Farmers

We now come to the consideration of an effective immediate program for the farmers.

Such a program must base itself primarily upon the needs of the small farmers and put forth these demands of the middle farmers which are also in the interest of the small producers. Furthermore, such a program must advance collaboration of the mass of farmers with progressive labor; for without such collaboration it is impossible to fulfil the demands of either the farmers or the workers.

It is also necessary that such a program, while advancing legislative demands particularly in connection with the election campaign, be primarily a program of action and struggle for the most pressing demands of the working farmers.

We advance the following immediate program:

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1. Increase Federal appropriations for emergency and direct relief, including rehabilitation loans and cash grants to impoverished farmers, extension of socially-useful public works in rural areas, nationwide applications of the stamp plan, perfection and extension of the crop insurance plan.

2. Extend and develop democratic rights on the countryside by assuring participation in proportion to the number of all farmers, including tenants and sharecroppers, in the committees administering the Federal farm program; no discrimination because of race or religious, political and organizational affiliation in the application of farm legislation; repeal of the poll tax and other practices which limit the right to vote; curb repressive and terroristic activities of Associated Farmers, Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations.

3. Extend a perfected system of old-age pensions to the farmers; apply the Wage-Hour Law and the Wagner Act to factory farms; extend unemployment, accident and old-age insurance and safety and sanitation laws to farm workers on all farms; expand Government rural electrification; Federal aid to extend schools, clinics and nursing services in the rural areas; an extensive rural housing program; a national soil conservation program adapted to the needs of the small and middle farmers.

4. Raise the prices received by the farmer for his products with special safeguards for the family-sized farm, lower the price of farm machinery, implements, transportation and other products and charges, and protect the consumer against high prices and speculation by curbing the processing, distribution and industrial monopolies; Government financial aid to bona fide production, marketing and consumers' cooperatives.

5. The enactment of a Federal Tenancy Law which shall make it imperative to prosecute usurers, abolish plantation commissaries and forced buying at stores designated by the landlord; guarantee the right of collective bargaining for farm workers and sharecroppers; enforce written tenant and sharecropper contracts; provide for tenant and sharecropping recording of accounts, and for compensation by the landlord to the tenant for improvements on the land; suspend landlords' liens on crop and chattel during emergencies, such as crop failure and sudden price decline; provide for minimum housing and sanitary conditions in dwellings on tenant land; bring about repeal of state peonage laws which make it unlawful to quit a tenancy while in debt.

6. The enactment of a Homestead Act for Today which establishes a ten-year moratorium on the mortgage debt of small and middle farmers; prohibits evictions and foreclosures for non-payment of rent, interest, various production debts and taxes due to circumstances beyond the farmers' control; refinances the farm debt at a level corresponding to the productive value of the land with long-term loans at low interest rates; establishes a Federal system requiring the states to enact a graduated land tax, exempting all homesteads be-

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low $5,000 from tax levies; pools all Federal, state, bank and corporation farm lands acquired by foreclosure into the public domain from which it shall be granted, leased or sold on long terms with payments varying according to the occupant's annual income, in the form of family-sized homesteads or for the use of production cooperatives, with sole preferences given to foreclosed farmers at present landless, tenant farmers, sharecroppers and farm laborers, Negro and white.

We emphasize again that this is primarily a program of action, which must be advanced energetically during the election campaign as we call upon the farmers to vote Communist. We make it clear that the demands for immediate relief can be won only by organization and struggle, and by cooperation with progressive labor, and that here it is a question of winning these demands as concessions from a war-and-hunger government. We also make it clear that effective government action against the monopolies and that such land reforms as contained in our demand for a Homestead Bill for Today and a Federal Tenancy Act can be fully assured only by an anti-war, anti-monopoly farmer-labor government, which in turn can be advanced only by struggle against war involvement and for the most immediate demands of farmers and workers.

It is necessary to clarify the stand of our Party with regard to legislative proposals now supported by various farm organizations. From the start we make it clear that we are opposed to any measures based upon or leading to crop reduction, as anti-social and detrimental to the interests of the small and middle farmers. However, we do now, and will continue to support, the action of the Farmers Union and the farmers for protecting the family-sized farms and making the factory farms bear the burden of any crop reduction or marketing control in existing or any new legislation which may be undertaken by the Administration.

A positive step in the direction of alleviating the debt burden is the Jones-Wheeler Debt Adjustment Bill, which is being backed by the Farmers Union in the present session of Congress, and which deserves wide support. But here we must warn the farmers against depending upon the election promises of the Administration and to mobilize their own forces to see this measure through, without emasculation.

What demands are emphasized in developing local action among the farmers must depend largely upon the conditions in any given locality, the peculiar problems associated with specific crops, the position of the local farm organizations, the relative strength of the various political parties, and so on. In many areas, it will undoubtedly be necessary for the Party to supplement our immediate national farm program with additional demands to meet the local situation. However, it is clear that the series of demands raised in connection with the Farm Tenancy Bill have special application to the South where they need to be energetically applied in organizing the sharecroppers and tenants, particularly in the plantation area.

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It is likewise clear that on a national scale the demands for immediate relief from the Federal and state governments, the extension of the stamp plan and other direct relief measures, the struggle for state moratoriums and tax revision, and particularly the struggle against foreclosures and evictions serve as the pivotal demands in the development of mass farmers' actions.

V. Farmer-Labor Cooperation

All our work must be directed towards furthering the alliance of the small and middle farmers with the working class, towards developing a day-to-day cooperation between the farmers and the trade unions. For some time already the Party has been advancing this central idea among the farmers as well as in the trade unions. We may note some successes in this direction, such as the effective cooperation established between the New York unions, both American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, with the Dairymen's Union in the strike of last summer and the continued cooperation through the milk consumers' cooperative and the dairy farmers' help to the New York taxi drivers in the recent strike; the growth of the C.I.O. agricultural workers' union, which brings the weight of the progressive labor movement to bear in the small farmers' struggle against the corporation farms and the processing monopolies; the advances made in Washington and in Minnesota. These experiences, as well as others, deserve to be fully analyzed, so that we may learn from these lessons how most effectively and most rapidly to strengthen and extend the bonds between the workers and the farmers. We must today approach this question with a renewed energy and vitality, in the light of the common fight against monopoly capital and the struggle against our country's participation in the imperialist war.

During the election campaign we can work most effectively in this direction mainly by developing activities from below for "a mass farmer-labor party, an anti-imperialist party of peace." What is essential, in the first place, is to develop a struggle for the immediate demands of the farmers, connecting this with a fight against the policies of those farm leaders who are working in cooperation with the war party, the party of the monopolists and the corporation farmers. Special attention must be paid to supporting the demands of the farmers in the Granges and the Bureau that their leaders stick by the anti-war position adopted at their conventions, and that the Farmers Union leaders speak out, in accordance with the full position of their convention, against the war moves of the Administration. It is also essential to develop independent anti-war activities among the farmers in cooperation with the trade unions, the Yanks-Are-Not-Coming Committees, and anti-imperialist peace organizations, directed against war appropriations, the M-Day plan, economic aid to either side in the conflict, and any attempt to extend war credits or loans to the belligerents.

Of the three major farm organizations, only the Farmers Union,

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which has generally attempted to defend the interests of the medium-sized farms, has opposed emasculation of the Federal labor legislation, has condemned the Dies Committee and supports the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill. On the basis of this progressive stand, the fight against the suppression of civil liberties should be further developed by the Farmers Union, carried into the other farm organizations, and brought within the scope of the broader movement in defense of civil liberties now being developed by the trade unions, professional groups, social organizations and others.

Perhaps we have not yet fully appreciated the role of the farm workers as a chief medium of farmer-labor unity. During recent years we have seen the growth of a powerful farm workers' union, which has led major struggles against the Associated Farmers and factory farmers in many parts of the country. Certainly the small farmers, and others who themselves are forced to "hire out," have every reason to support the agricultural workers' union in the struggle against the corporation farms and processors. This is the most immediate point of contact between the working class and the small farmers, and we must place special emphasis upon the need to find ways and means to establish closer unity from day to day between small farmers and farm workers especially in those areas of large-scale capitalist farming and in the cotton areas.

The working accord which has recently been established between the Youth Congress and the C.I.O., and which is now being extended on a regional scale, should serve as another important means of building farmer-labor unity. The proportion of youth on the countryside is much greater than in the cities, while it has recently been estimated by a Government specialist that more than 400,000 boys and girls annually come of working age on the farms and have nowhere to turn. These farm youth, subject in greater numbers to war mobilization, seeking means of employment and educational opportunities, have too long been neglected by the labor and progressive movement. It is necessary to turn attention sharply upon this question, to extend the youth movement into the rural areas.

The major point which must be made is that the most effective work for farmer-labor unity can be done in the cities—in the trade unions and the organization of the unemployed. Both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. have gone on record at their national conventions for labor-farmer cooperation; but this as well as the decision taken by the C.I.O. to establish a committee for this purpose has to the present time remained on paper. We must seek to develop in the local, city and state labor bodies the initiative with respect to developing cooperation with the farmers in their struggles, by direct aid as well as through consumers' cooperatives formed in collaboration with the farmers' organizations. The trade unions should also be induced to seek the cooperation of the farmers during the election campaign on state as well as national issues.

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VI. Party Work Among the Farmers

This conference must devote major attention to the task of building a base among the small farmers and the farm workers, closely linked with the most advanced section of the working class. Above all else this means building the Party in the rural areas. Our successes in bringing our general election platform to the farmer, our advances in supporting farmers' mass action for their immediate demands, our progress in building farmer-labor unity can be enduringly registered in new Party branches and many new members in the rural areas.

Let us see where we stand now in this respect. Farmers constitute less than 2 per cent of the total membership. Of this number 40 per cent are in three states—Minnesota, Wisconsin and Washington. Twenty per cent are in Alabama and Oklahoma, many of whom are undoubtedly sharecroppers. The remaining 40 per cent are scattered in small numbers in 21 states where we have Party organizations.

What do these figures reveal? First of all, the exceedingly low proportion of farmers in the Party membership. It is true that we cannot expect, precisely because we are a Communist Party devoted to socialism, that at this stage we should have anywhere near the number of farmers in the Party approximating their proportion in the population as a whole. Nevertheless, this proportion is by far too low and reflects the weakness of our Party as a whole in the development of its farm work.

Another important thing to note is that our Party has made its greatest gains among the farmers precisely in those states where political farmer-labor unity has been most developed—in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Washington. On the other hand, we must emphasize that where the Party has been longest established and is strongest—in the East, California, and the Midwest industrial-farm states—where one has a right to expect the furthest advances in farm work, the progress has been least as measured by the opportunities and forces at the disposal of the Party organizations. This applies particularly to the heart of the Corn Belt: Indiana, Illinois and Ohio, as well as to New York and other Eastern industrial states. In the case of the most important farm states in the North, we must note that our Party has made only a bare beginning in Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa, while in the Dakotas we have had over the recent period enough of a base among the farmers to expect more rapid progress.

Where the Party organization is newest and weakest, as in those Southern states where a solid base among the workers has not as yet been established, we can understand that work among the farmers would also be weak. But this does not sufficiently explain why all the Southern states, with the exception of Alabama and Oklahoma, should report such few farmers in the Party. It should be kept in mind that with regard to the South, more than anywhere else, the farm question is a key problem because of its special bearings on the Negro question and

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the importance of the struggle against the plantation economy.

Another important factor that we must consider is our strength among the agricultural workers. The first important thing to note is that we have fewer agricultural workers in the Party than farmers. This reflects a serious weakness in our work because the agricultural proletariat represents the firmest base for progress on the countryside both by their own efforts and also by unity between them and the small farmers. In further analyzing the figures, we find that about 70 per cent of the agricultural workers in the Party are in California, Texas and Alabama, and that in these states the number of farmers in the Party is infinitesimal as compared with the number of farm workers. This indicates that in these states, which account for most of the farm workers in the Party, the recruitment has taken place almost entirely among the workers on the large factory farms. The importance and necessity of continuing this kind of recruitment we do not wish to underestimate in any way, when we emphasize that it is necessary to concentrate also upon recruiting general farm workers, from the rural towns and the working farm families, who are permanently located in the rural community and who have close ties with the small farmers in the area.

Has the Party as a whole shown any improvement during the current recruiting campaign? We have some partial figures for the first three months of the year. These show that only nine states reported any farm recruiting during this period. Of the nine states, four Southern states reported one farmer each. Those showing only a little better record were Minnesota, Washington, Michigan, Illinois and California. These figures speak for themselves.

We have not now discovered for the first time, in examining our vital statistics, that the Party work among the farmers is weak. That we have all known for some time, and the Party organizations have taken some steps to improve this work. But the lesson we must all take deeply to heart today is that the Party as a whole has not yet seriously enough and energetically enough undertaken the task of building the Party in the rural areas, which is our most effective means of furthering the alliance between the working farmers and the proletariat in the struggle against war. Our Party has not yet fully learned the lessons of Marxism-Leninism and of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the importance of the agrarian movement; it has not yet begun to acquaint itself sufficiently with the problems of the farmers even in those localities closer to the centers of Party strength among the workers; it has not yet taken serious enough steps in educating and agitating the trade unions on the farm question and the necessity of practical, day-to-day cooperation with the farmers; it has not yet, as a whole, taken the first serious steps in assigning responsible comrades to various aspects of farm work.

We must immediately begin to overcome these shortcomings. The

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election campaign offers us an unexcelled opportunity to develop our independent position among the farmers, to carry to them our views on all the question of domestic and international politics which now agitate the whole country. We must develop our propaganda among the farmers to a much greater extent than we have done hitherto, by means of special radio programs, pamphlets, leaflets and election campaigners addressed especially to them, on a local as well as a national scale. A special penny pamphlet on the "War and the Farmer" is now in preparation, and we expect the states to order large quantities as a starter in our accelerated farm campaign. In the course of the election campaign, special literature will be issued for the farm areas; the state campaign committees must likewise plan for a series of leaflets or campaigners for the farmers, and route election speakers into rural communities. If we can develop enough farm correspondence, articles and news reports from the farm areas, we are certain that the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, as well as the *People's World* will be only too glad to devote a special page to farm questions regularly.

We must take every opportunity to build the Party, placing major emphasis upon recruiting farm workers and small farmers. We are not yet making full use of the base we have already won. In examining the geographical distribution of our Party membership we find that in rural communities with populations below 5,000, we have over 2,500 Party members in over 280 such communities. We also have Party organizations in over 100 towns with populations of from five to ten thousands, and in about 120 towns having populations of from ten to twenty-five thousand. While many of these villages, towns and small cities are undoubtedly industrial or mining communities, most of them are certainly in the center of agrarian regions and offer our first means for carrying on direct work among the farmers. More attention, therefore, has to be given to recruiting in these smaller communities, strengthening our old branches there and creating new ones, and having them concentrate on the task of building the Party among the farmers. We must also learn how to make use of every possible contact with the farmers, such as transportation workers, rural delivery workers, salesmen and so on.

In approaching the farmers it is necessary for us to take into account that the farmers, as a result of their experiences with the "New Deal" and the bitter lessons they are now learning from Roosevelt, are thinking more and more in terms of a fundamental solution of their problems. The farmers are not excluded from the 15 per cent of the voters who, according to a recent national poll, think that socialism is preferable to capitalism. It is certainly our task to develop this understanding among the working farmers. We must more and more emphasize in our approach to the farmers that the fundamental contradictions of the "New Deal" farm program are characteristic not only of the Roosevelt regime, but arise from the crisis of capitalism, pointing out that only socialism can solve the problems

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of "surpluses," prices and markets.

We need to explain that the Soviet Union during the last ten years has shown that under the leadership of a working class state, working farmers are able to organize and operate agriculture along socialist lines, and that the socialist, collective system of production is far superior to the capitalist system, as it applies both to general economic progress and to the well being of the producers. Is is necessary to explain that the nationalization of the land in the Soviet Union meant not only the abolition of large landed monopolies, but also the removal of the heavy burden of debts, charges and other forms of tribute which the monopolies extort from the family-sized farm under capitalism, and that collective farming for the first time in history assured the farmer the right to work the land and possess its products in perpetuity. We must show the American farmers how in deserting small-scale individual farming for collective large-scale farming, the peasants of the Soviet Union dropped a heavy burden from their backs and assured themselves a secure and plentiful livelihood. This discovery, made possible by socialism, if once known and understood by our farmers will open for them in their thinking and actions a new and fruitful means of overcoming the devastation and ruin caused by capitalism and imperialist war.

During this period of rapidly-rushing events, when masses learn political lessons with great speed, it is necessary to overcome our lag in farm work as quickly as possible by rapidly developing the struggle against imperialist war among the farmers. This is the way to assure for the Party and the working class a firm base on the countryside, the indispensable condition for a strong alliance between the working farmers and the working class in the struggle for peace and plenty.

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A BOOK TO ARM US IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR

BY CLARENCE HATHAWAY

"Can war be explained if it is not connected with the preceding politics of the given state, the given system of states, the given classes? I repeat: this is the fundamental question which is constantly forgotten; and the failure to understand it transforms nine-tenths of the arguments about war into useless wrangling and the bandying of words. We say: if you have not studied the politics that both groups of belligerent powers have pursued for decades—not taking facts at random, not picking out individual examples—if you cannot show the connection between this war and the politics preceding it, then you understand nothing about this war!" —*V. I. Lenin*, War and the Workers, (pp. 8-9).

* * *

IN HIS new book, *The Second Imperialist War*,* Earl Browder, the most authoritative spokesman of American Communism, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, has subjected the present war, the contending camps and the class forces, to the acid test of such a Marxist-Leninist scrutiny.

Basing himself on the axiom: war is the continuation of politics by other means, he cuts through the gibberish of the warmongers and their apologists, bringing to the light of day, clearly and forcefully, the politics of the imperialist powers, Germany, Italy, England, France, Japan and the others which brought about this holocaust. Needless to say, he does not fail to examine especially and to emphasize those policies of the Roosevelt Administration which have made his regime jointly responsible with the imperialist powers of Europe for the present bloodshed and suffering, and which now further threatens to involve us directly in a military sense in the present imperialist struggle.

This new book contains the author's speeches, articles, statements and reports for the period from March, 1939, to the beginning of May of this year. It covers the period beginning with the cowardly betrayal of the Spanish people, of the victory of Franco, and the criminal recognition of his butcher regime by the Roosevelt Adminis-

* Earl Browder, *The Second Imperialist War*, International Publishers, New York, 309 pp., $2.00.

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tration. It covers all of the war developments in Europe from that time until the engulfing of Denmark and Norway.

Almost every subject of deep concern to the people and the nation is dealt with in this book. Moreover, the manner of dealing with these subjects is a lesson in how most effectively to discuss the complex problems of today before groups of varied composition. The speeches, for example, were made before religious gatherings, at civic forums, to student bodies, to youth groups, to meetings of workers, at conferences of Communists. In each case consideration had to be given to the views, to the degree of development, to the prejudices of the audience. Comrade Browder has mastered the art, as is demonstrated in this book, of serving our movement as a popular mass agitator and organizer, as well as a most effective teacher and educator, as a propagandist for socialism.

As to subject matter, it should be noted that he discusses the widest range of topics—religion, the problems of the youth, trade union unity, a new third party, the international ties of Communists, Communist Party history, civil liberties, anti-Semitism, the foreign-born, our nation's traditions, the Spanish struggle, the Finnish peace, the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, the policy shifts of the Roosevelt Administration, and many other questions—but all in the setting of the basic world-wide imperialist antagonisms of this period. As he puts it in his own foreword:

"The unifying thread throughout this book is the attitude toward the Second Imperialist War—how to prevent its outbreak; after it had begun, how to prevent its spread; and how to bring it to the quickest possible end. Questions of more general or theoretical interest are dealt with in their relation to the war." (p. V.)

It should also be emphasized that this book was not produced in the academic quiet of a library, weeks or months after the events with which it deals, after the author had had an opportunity to review and re-review each happening in the light of subsequent developments, shifting political realignments, rapidly changing military situations, frenzied undercover diplomatic activities, which added documentary materials, etc., etc. On the contrary, Comrade Browder produced this book during the course of hard and tireless work as the leader of the Communist Party. It came out of the crucible of the Party's vanguard role in the struggle of the people's forces to prevent this war, to stop its spread, to bring it to an early end, to prevent the United States from being drawn into it. It is the work of a Marxist-Leninist political leader who understands well how to make great contributions to the theoretical growth of the working class movement while giving it direct every-day leadership in its struggles for its class aims.

* * *

Comrade Browder's book, divided into three parts, opens with a section entitled "Fateful Days" (eight

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articles and speeches) covering the period from the treachery in Spain approximately to the outbreak of war at the end of last August.

This section is marked by the struggle of the Communists and of other peace forces *to prevent* the outbreak of a general war. We emphasized the direct responsibility of the fascist powers (Germany, Italy, Japan) for those acts of aggression which were leading toward a second imperialist world war. But we waged an uncompromising and continuous struggle against those like Chamberlain, Daladier, and Sumner Welles who were directly responsible for the successes of fascism through their "non-intervention," Munich policies. Then we stood almost alone in denouncing the Munichmen as aides and abettors of Hitler and Mussolini. Today who is there who would defend them?

We backed the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, based on the policy of collective security, and urged united action by all the peace forces here to aid in achieving a world peace front, both of the peace-desiring nations and of the peoples. The Munichmen of London, Paris and Washington defeated those efforts and are as responsible for bringing on the war as are the fascists.

Because we then urged concerted action to stop fascism there were those (liberals, pacifists, "Socialists," Munichmen) who charged us with desiring to involve the United States and the world in war. We brushed aside their attacks as slander and continued our fight for peace and against fascist aggression. It is now interesting to note that many of those people are in the front rank of the warmongers today, trying to bring the United States in on the side of the Anglo-French imperialists. But to keep the record clear, Comrade Browder set forth our opposition to entering a war as far back as May, 1938, at the time of his debate with the pacifist, Frederick J. Libby. He said:

"We propose to make peace profitable and war unprofitable. We do not propose war or any steps that would lead to war. We do not propose any entangling alliances or any limitation upon American freedom of decision and action." (p. 109.)

It is clear that ours was not a war policy. We were against war then as we are today. But we were not isolationists or pacifists. We were for collective security, for the unity of the peace forces to stop fascist aggression, to prevent a second imperialist blood-bath. We sought to preserve peace and democracy by moral, political, and economic measures, and by materially aiding those peoples who were stubbornly resisting fascism in Ethiopia, China, Spain, and within the fascist countries.

In this connection, and in view of later developments, it is interesting now to note our attitude toward President Roosevelt during this period. Ours was one of thoroughgoing opposition to the reactionary Republican politicians and to the Garner-Dies Democrats. We generally supported the New Deal policies of Roosevelt and saw some hope in his declared anti-fascist position, his proposals to quar-

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antine the aggressor. I repeat, our position was one of general support for Roosevelt's then declared foreign policy, but it was a sharply critical, strictly conditional support. This becomes important in view of the position taken by Roosevelt since the outbreak of the imperialist war at the end of last summer.

Speaking of the Roosevelt Administration's recognition of Franco, Comrade Browder stated on April 12, last year:

"Yesterday the American people were shocked by the action of our State Department in Washington, which with indecent haste rushed to present unconditional recognition of Butcher Franco, puppet of Hitler and Mussolini, as the legitimate government of Spain." (p. 27.)

In the same speech Comrade Browder declared:

"By this act Washington has compromised itself in the treacherous course of Chamberlain and Bonnet; it has stepped back again from its position of leadership of the world democratic forces; it has broken its own doctrine of non-recognition of territorial conquests; it has multiplied manifold and overnight the menace of fascism in Latin America; it has put a premium upon international banditry, dishonored itself, further endangered American national security, and encouraged the war-makers to new assaults and outrages.

"President Roosevelt, by yielding to this step, which has been long prepared by the pro-fascist and pro-Chamberlain camarilla in the State Department, has shaken and placed in jeopardy his whole foreign policy of the organization of world peace." (pp. 28-29.)

In an article written a few weeks later, on April 25 of last year, Comrade Browder declared:

"We are not uncritical, however, in our estimate of the President's role. The United States has hesitated, and vacillated, and thereby failed lamentably to exert its full influence in the world. It has missed opportunities, the loss of which has terribly worsened the general situation. It has drawn back before responsibilities, and allowed Chamberlain to lead us by the nose, to the serious detriment of the world and harm to American interests. The most flagrant example of this is in relation to Spain." (pp. 38-39.)

And then, later, in that same article he goes on:

"President Roosevelt has a position of high moral and political authority before the peoples of America and the world, but if he is to maintain that position and wield it in the interests of international order and peace, he must keep himself clean of complicity in the systematic betrayals that are being organized by the Munichmen, he must stop the trafficking and compromising with the axis powers, he must make a clean break with the bankrupt and discredited policy of Chamberlain and Bonnet." (p. 40.)

This gives, I believe, an indication of the main line adopted by the Communists during the period prior to the outbreak of war.

* * *

Parts Two and Three—Part Two dealing with the Second Imperialist

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War (thirteen articles) and Part Three entitled "The People Against the War-Makers" (eight articles)—can be dealt with together for the purposes of this review. These two parts treat of the period from the outbreak of the war until just after the engulfing of Denmark and Norway. Here Comrade Browder deals at length in several of his speeches and articles with the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, clearly placing the responsibility for that development on the refusal of Chamberlain and Daladier to proceed with the organization of a peace front that would have prevented war, bringing together those forces that could have stopped Hitler by methods short of war. He makes clear that the reasons for the failure of these negotiations were the anti-Soviet aims of British imperialism, their desire to set up with German imperialism a common front of these two bandit powers for the destruction of the Land of Socialism.

He also deals in several articles with the struggle between the Soviet Union and Finland, showing that that struggle was brought on primarily as a result of the pressure of British and American imperialist interests, contrary to the interests of the Finnish people, and with the intention of turning the North into a central battleground of the war and as jumping-off point for an anti-Soviet war.

In relation to the Soviet-Finnish peace, with which he deals at considerable length, Comrade Browder shows its significance, not only to the Finnish and Soviet peoples, but as a major contribution toward the furthering of peace in the northern countries, the Baltic, and even other parts of Eastern Europe.

Of utmost importance is the discussion of the maturing of Roosevelt's position with the outbreak of the war in Europe. From the very outset, Comrade Browder demonstrates, Roosevelt ceased to be a factor for peace and became an active associate of the Anglo-French imperialists on a non-belligerent basis, establishing a relationship between his Administration and London and Paris comparable only to that maintained between Rome and Berlin prior to Italy's entrance into the war. Here, in one of his speeches, Comrade Browder sums up the changed attitude of the Communist Party toward the Roosevelt Administration in these words, answering the critics who charged that we had "changed our line":

"If the *Daily Worker* has made a big change in its attitude, this is fully matched by the change in the *Wall Street Journal*. The cause for both changes is the same. With the outbreak of war, President Roosevelt abandoned the New Deal policies in domestic affairs, abandoned the 'Good Neighbor' policy toward Latin America, abandoned neutrality toward the imperialist rivalries of Europe, abandoned the role of peace-maker for America, abandoned practically everything which the *Daily Worker* had been supporting and which the *Wall Street Journal* had been opposing, Inevitably, the two papers, and all people and organizations represented and symbolized by them, changed their position toward Roosevelt. However, we must confess that the

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Wall Street Journal and its following changed quicker than we did. We were reluctant to admit that Roosevelt had fundamentally changed his course, and we openly came out against Roosevelt only when this change had been established by a mountain of incontrovertible evidence. But today, less than four months after the outbreak of the war, the fact is so clear that no serious effort is made anywhere to deny it. The Administration is openly scuttling the policies that were known as the New Deal; it is conducting a war against the labor movement, A. F. of L. and C.I.O.; it is emasculating the Labor Relations Act; it is cutting off the unemployed youth from Federal aid; it is persecuting the Communist Party and encouraging the mounting tide of intolerance and war hysteria that threatens the utter cancellation of the Bill of Rights; it has thrown American influence on the side of prolonging and spreading the imperialist war. Unity is rapidly being established among the leaders of Republican and Democratic, New Deal and anti-New Deal groupings, but it is a reactionary unity, bought at the price of surrender to the fundamental program of Wall Street, a reactionary unity against the people." (pp. 201-02.)

It is out of such considerations as these that we Communists branded this whole war as an imperialist war, with both sides equally guilty, equally rapacious, equally interested only in the serving of their own imperialist aims. That goes for Germany and Italy, it goes for England and France, and it goes for the United States as well.

"We can note as an outstanding features," says Comrade Browder, "that the American bourgeoisie as a whole, U.S. imperialism, has in the face of the outbreak of the open struggle for the redivision of the world resumed its aggressive and dynamic role in world affairs. For some years since the outbreak of the great crisis in 1929, the American bourgeoisie had been sharply divided, as a result of which the aggressive face of American imperialism had been put into the background. The American bourgeoisie had not seen clearly its path. It had been feeling its way, it had been conciliating the rebelling masses of the people at home with some social reforms, it had been conciliating the colonial and semi-colonial peoples abroad through the so-called 'Good Neighbor' policy, and it had been feeling its way in relation to its imperialist rivals with great caution.

"But all of its doubts, its divided mind, its paralysis were quickly resolved in the face of the outbreak of the war, with the opening of the actual process of armed redistribution of the world, and especially with the prospects that clearly arose from the bankruptcy of the Chamberlain policy, the rising threat of revolution in Europe and of the overthrow of the European bourgeoisie. It was the specter of proletarian revolution in Europe which, above all, resolved the divisions and doubts of the American bourgeoisie, restored class unity to it—that class unity which they call 'national unity'—and which transformed almost overnight the Roosevelt Administration from a New Deal, progressive administration, leaning upon the people in opposition to the most reactionary section of monopoly capital, into the leader and organizer of all the reactionary forces in the country, the instru-

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ment of that class unity *against* the people, the character of which is revealed with startling clarity today, less than six months after the outbreak of the war." (pp. 244-45.)

* * *

From the above, the conclusions are clear, conclusions presented at length by Comrade Browder in the last section of his book—an active struggle against the imperialist war, the rallying of the broadest masses of the people for the ending of the war, for peace, the fight against our own bourgeoisie and against their efforts—both Republicans and Democrats—to bring us into the war.

Comrade Browder's book is one of his greatest contributions to our Party and to the broad masses of the people. It is a book that arms us in the struggle against the involvement of our country in the imperialist war. It is a book that should be made the possession of tens of thousands of the American people so that their opposition to the war-drive of American imperialism may be guided along effective channels of struggle for peace, security and freedom.

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THE SPANISH PEOPLE FIGHT ON

BY GREGORIO CANTOS

WITH the betrayal of the "Junta" of Casado, Besteiro, Carrillo, Mera and Co., who surrendered the thousand-fold heroic people of Spain to Franco and his camp, to the foreign invaders, the war in the trenches ended. But although more than a year has gone by, the struggle continues on other fronts and under different conditions; it continues in part even with arms which thousands of Spanish heroes did not lay down.

Since the Casado betrayal led to the temporary defeat of the people, it was inevitable that wavering elements would turn defeatist. Some assume that the revolutionary cycle which began in April, 1931, has finally been closed; that the Republic and the people have been crushed beyond hope. Others are trying to mold themselves into the new situation, hoping for "legal" changes. They seek just a "mite" of "understanding" on the part of Spanish reaction, which would secure "national harmony." Thus they contribute—as they always have done—to the perpetuation of the system of capitalist oppression of the Spanish people. They refuse to see that the torrents of blood spilled and still being spilled by the Franco murderers are no course to "harmony" with the people; that the fascist regime is faced with contradictions which it cannot solve; that the magnificent struggle of the Spanish people in the face of incomparable odds gives assurance that it will rise from the temporary defeat to harvest the fruits of victory—the People's Republic.

The Farce of "Reconstruction"

Since the war ended, a good many demagogic promises have been made by the Franco leaders. They ostentatiously announced their "reconstruction" projects. They promised work and welfare. But the truth of the situation is quite different. In his speech on New Year's Eve, December 31, 1939, reviewing the situation of the country, Franco was forced to recognize that in all its fundamental branches of economy Spain absolutely depends on foreign powers. He stated that the majority of imports can be dispensed with because the country possesses sufficient reserves. But one important detail he failed to deal with: how to end that dependence.

Search as we may through the reports reaching us from Spain, we can find nothing but screaming reiterations about the self-same proj-

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ects and only once in a while reference to some insignificant actual undertaking.

The truth is that except for a few metallurgical factories, especially in the Basque country, which were in full blast before the war ended, and which register some increase, as do also exports and the production of armaments, the basic production of the country is in the depths of chaos and disorganization. The textile industry of Catalonia, the most important in the whole country, despite the $10,000,000 cotton credit given to Franco by the United States, still operates below 50 per cent of capacity (together with the fact that as a result of the "Nationalist" hatred of the Catalonian nation, its industries are being moved to other sections of the country). Nothing has been done to improve railroad transport, although two-thirds of its equipment is in need of repairs and renewal. The same can be said of the merchant marine. As for agricultural production, the basis of all the economy of the country, it has suffered a steep decline as a result of the lack of fertilizers and of men, a large number of whom are now in the jails or have been killed. Entire important towns, such as Elche, have been completely destroyed. This crisis in agriculture occurs principally in the zone which was Republican until the "Casadist" betrayal, and where the peasants refuse to till the soil; while during the war, despite the lack of men due to service in the army, production in the whole Republican area increased.

The bulk of the mineral and agricultural products is destined for export to Italy and Germany as payment on the war debts.

The panorama of disorganization and misery cannot be hidden by the ruling forces. Thus, Franco in his New Year's Eve speech was forced to declare:

"Can anyone be surprised in this situation if some days bread is lacking, or milk, or that transportation does not work with the regularity of normal times?"

Such is the "overwhelming and rapid reconstruction" of the Franco regime.

The truth is that the "Nationalist" regime, after selling the country to the invader, after destroying its economy, is seeking a way out of this situation in war, at the cost of the exploitation and misery of the people. The most urgent task, according to the Phalanx Counselor Jose Maria Areinza, in a lecture in the Institute of Economic Studies, "is naturally to equip the army with all that is necessary." And Franco, in the speech already referred to, says that "the securing of our resurgence, thus, rests on a land, sea and air army which values our geographic situation and supports our freedom and our rights."

As can be seen, what the "saviors of Spain" are least interested in is the reconstruction of the country in terms of the people's welfare. The contradiction between their words and the reality is so great, that they cannot even hide it from themselves. If the most important task is, as the "leader" and his henchmen say, to "equip the

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army," then the promise of reconstruction is but a miserable deception.

Franco Spain Prepares for War

Italo-German intervention in Spain did not merely seek to aid Spanish reaction "against Communism." It served to utilize Spain as a source of raw materials and as a strategic position in the imperialist conflict which has since crystallized in the conflagration fast becoming worldwide. The so-called democracies, France and England, were "non-belligerent" partners to the fascist attack on the Spanish people. With their "non-intervention" committee they created a fiction of neutrality to make the "appeasement" policy of Chamberlain palatable to the people. Despite grave difficulties, the Soviet Union alone of all the powers proved its devotion to the struggle for democracy by rendering moral and political assistance to the Spanish people.

A glance at the map is sufficient to appreciate the important strategic position of Spain in the struggle of the two imperialist blocs. Situated in the southwestern corner of Europe, and with the greater part of its coast line in the Mediterranean, it lies athwart the shortest and most direct route from England and France to their colonial possessions in Africa and Asia, and dominates the Straits of Gibraltar connecting the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It thus offers a formidable base of operations for control of the Mediterranean in the event of war between the Allies and Italy.

Franco made haste to declare his "neutrality" in the present conflict, but deeds once more demonstrate that the "Nationalist" regime finds no other way out except through war, and concentrates all its efforts to prepare it. All the speeches of the Phalanx leaders, of the generals and of the government abound with reference to the "reconstruction of the Empire," of the "world-wide historical role of United Spain," etc. These miserable lackeys, subjected to the Italian and the German powers on the one hand and attempting to "do business" with the "democratic" imperialists on the other, at the cost of the blood of the Spanish people, speak in this ridiculous fashion of "Empire"!

General Yagüe speaks of "training 4,000 pilots a year." Munoz Grande, recently removed from the secretaryship of the Phalanx, states that "the schools should be the incubators which supply us with cadres of officers." New military academies are opened in all haste, in Burgos, Guadalajara and Saragossa. Recently the Minister of Aviation declared that "in order to give a great push forward to aviation, the largest sums of the budget will be assigned especially for the purchase of airplanes of great capacity and for the plant to be built in Cadiz so as to convert it into a great international air base." Military airdromes are being rapidly constructed on all sides. According to the Oviedo press, by order of the Minister of Aviation, "the expropriation of the land of one hundred proprietors is considered urgent for the construction of the military airfield 'La Morgal.'"

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In Santander, according to the same newspaper, "technicians who have arrived recently from Madrid have examined the lands where construction will begin of an air base as well as a hydroplane base in the bay." According to another item from Vigo, "The Minister of Aviation has taken over the construction of the airport 'El Peinador,' the rapid execution of which is considered of national interest."

All these constructions are carried out under commercial pretexts; but these excuses deceive no one. Nor can the Franco plans for the construction in Ferrol of four 35,000-ton battleships, fourteen 13,000-ton cruisers, eighteen 4,000-ton destroyers, and fourteen submarines deceive anyone.

This military preparation has no other aim than that of dragging Spain into the imperialist war. The question is not on the side of which imperialist camp it will fight, since among the leading cliques there are opposing opinions. What is indisputable is that until today the policy of the Franco government in relation to the imperialist war has been in accord with the orientation of Italy. Only last month there were several student demonstrations in Madrid on the Italian fascist style. Students of the Phalanx Party shouted for the return of Gibralter to the Spanish empire that Franco hopes to revive. It is obvious that these manifestations were inspired by Italian influences which dominate the Phalanx, the sole official ruling party. It is worth remembering that German and Italian influence, rooted in key positions, remains established inside the country.

According to recent authoritative reports, Italian military forces still remain in Spain, constituting a real army of occupation; in Asturias there is the Division of the "Black Arrows," in Levant the "Green Arrows," in Andalusia the "Littorio" division, and in the center the "Blue Arrows." In Palencia the general headquarters of the Italian expeditionary forces are established. The houses of the *Fascios* function in the majority of the cities and in their meetings they deal with Spain as though it were a conquered country.

It is not necessary to speak of industry, railroads, aviation, etc., where the majority of the technicians are Italians and Germans, such as is the case in Barcelona, where 75 per cent of the textile workers are Italian.

At the same time, the treacherous governments of the "democracies," the authors of the "non-intervention" which strangled the Republic, have endeavored to win Franco over through economic aid and loans such as that given by the United States, and the recent British loan of two million pounds, as well as by means of commercial treaties.

"The Paradise" of Misery and Terror

Franco propaganda agencies, seconded by the reactionaries of other countries, have painted attractive pictures of the living and social conditions in Spain. To dispute this is to be guilty of "Communist pro-

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paganda." However, there are enough official data available to prove that the miserable situation of the masses has been aggravated, and that the terror continues turning Spain into an immense prison and a vast cemetery.

No sooner had the war in Spain come to an end than the victorious "Nationalist" regime began to turn out hundreds of decrees abolishing the achievements won by the toiling masses under the Republic. We can only indicate here the main features of this sweeping "reconstruction."

The forty-four-hour week has been replaced with the forty-eight-hour week. Moreover, the workers are forced to work overtime with no extra pay and are docked for holidays. A so-called "personal service" has been forcibly imposed, equivalent to fifteen days' unpaid work a year for the state. The wages of the days of the monarchy have returned. Thus, in Asturias they were lowered 50 per cent; in Bilbao, from 18 pesetas* per day they were slashed to 9; in Barcelona, where the scale in the port was 18 pesetas, only 11 are paid today. In the countryside the miserable wages of 2 and 3 pesetas are the rule again.

To this should be added the multiple "voluntary" taxes, of which the following picture is a reflection: A man and wife who earn 8 pesetas daily receive in a month of 26 days the total of 208 pesetas. They must pay 35 pesetas for rent, 5 for light, 4 for water, 10 for coal, 2.40 for "social aid," 2.50 for the Phalanx blue ticket, 16 for the "single plate," 2 for the family donation, 2 for the fascist unions, and 5 for miscellaneous collections—a total of 83.90 pesetas, which leaves them for food, clothing and other expenses 124.10 pesetas monthly.

It must be remembered, too, that the cost of the basic staples, if they are procurable at all, has increased threefold and more, according to the official prices (which are lower than the actual prices). For example, beans which formerly cost 1.50 to 2 pesetas a kilogram are sold now at 4.50; bacon has increased from 3.50 pesetas per kilogram to 9; chick peas, from 1.50 to 4.50; oil, from 2 to 4.50; fish, from 2 to 7 and more. This is sufficient to give an idea of the real wages of the workers and their miserable living conditions. But far worse is the situation of the hundreds of thousands in the jails, of the Republican combatants and all those considered "Reds" or sympathizers, who are forced to work at forced labor as prisoners of war without any pay at all. The number of the latter reached 1,200,000 in August and September; which means that, together with those in the jails and their families, more than a third of the population lives in absolute misery with no income whatsoever!

Similar treatment has been meted out to the peasants. All the slight improvements of the Agrarian Reform of 1931 have been abolished. The lands have been returned to the nobility, so that 75 feudal lords today possess more than 1,125,000 hectares.* The Church again is the proprietor of a third of the tillable soil, while millions of peasants have

* The official exchange rate for the peseta is 10c.

* A hectare equals 2.471 acres.

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no land. The Spanish peasants who received the land without indemnification from the Republican government during the war, who found themselves free of the former debts and of taxes, who received loans and machinery, are today forced to pay not only the present rent but also war indemnities and the back rent due since the pre-war times. They are weighted down with taxes and *gabelles* ("salt-taxes," *i.e.*, taxes on provisions). The "Protecting State" pays them for the wheat of 1939 delivered to the government warehouses 59 to 64 pesetas, while during the war they were paid 85 pesetas exclusive of the cost of delivery.

But as if all this exploitation were not sufficient, there has been started a new, "productive" form of exploitation, the "redemption through work," by which hundreds of thousands of persons, by the "kindness of the Caudillo," must work daily twelve or more hours without any wages as punishment imposed for the crime of having defended their country.

The small merchants are burdened with taxes. The scarcity of goods to sell, the profits of which are taxed 10 per cent, forces them to commit infractions which are punished by constant fines. In Madrid, during twenty days last July, 464 fines totaling 104,075 pesetas were imposed. In Valencia 61 fines totaling 306,000 pesetas, and in Barcelona 67 fines totaling 107,290 pesetas were imposed. The fines are levied on the most flagrant pretexts. Many Catalonian merchants have been fined for havings signs with Catalonian words on them. Only a few days ago the Spanish press reported arrests of small merchants because they had closed their shops before the stated closing time, although they had run out of goods to sell.

The scarcity of food and of other prime necessities, far from diminishing, increases. The rationings are woeful. In order to understand what this means, it is enough to say that in Madrid there was granted last July (it is worse now) a total of 1,200 grams* of food per person a month, exclusive of bread and fish. That means that in vegetables, oil, sugar, etc., each person was supposed to get an average of 40 grams —1¼ ounces!—per day.

It is so difficult to hide this misery, that from time to time items appear in the press like the following, published in the *Diario Montanez* of January 10, 1940, referring to the conditions in the Santander region:

"The existence of cases like the neighborhood of Venecia, so called in sarcasm, invites reflection. That there should be human beings whose living conditions are hardly different from those of beasts is a cruel social injustice."

This whole setting of immense tragedy is maintained by means of a terror so brutal and bloody that the history of no other people records anything comparable to it. The Inquisition of sad and shameful memory has been revived and refined with the "modern progress" of the Phalanx and their invading masters. With the surrender of the Republican zone by the traitors of

* A gram equals 2 lbs., 9½ oz.

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the "Casado Junta," a wave of savage terror was unloosed throughout the country. The victims of murders, "rides," mass executions carried out by the Phalanx hordes can be counted in the hundreds of thousands. The reactionary *Times* of London, which contributed so greatly to the "victory" of Franco, estimated 800,000 to be the total of such murders.

The Phalangists in their thirst for blood take advantage of any convenient pretext to carry their wave of crime to unbelievable extremes. Thus, when the moving of the remains of Primo de Rivera took place, his followers "celebrated" the occasion by raiding prisons and concentration camps, killing prisoners en masse. In the camp of Totana, in Murcia, they massacred the prisoners, among them Marco Miranda, Republican deputy, and the former mayor of Murcia, Bienvenido Santos. In la Roda prison, in Albacete, they burned a "Red" before the funeral procession. To such an extreme was the terror carried during this expedition, that according to a letter which evaded the censorship, "a group representing the Phalanx *centuria* from Oran, horrified by so many murders, decided to dissolve the *centuria*."

In the jails, more than a million people—a statement by the Vatican given out some time ago put the number of prisoners at 500,000—expect to be shot any day. The *London News Chronicle*, for January 19, 1940, reported that "between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000" were being held in the prisons of Spain, and that executions were proceeding in great numbers. Daily, besides those shot "legally" by court order, hundreds are taken from prisons to cemeteries and are shot without trial. Franco "justice" acts on the slightest pretext. A simple accusation of suspicion is sufficient for condemnation, if not to death, at least to years of imprisonment and the expropriation of all goods. Some Americans who recently returned to the United States after having been held in Franco jails knew one prisoner with a 30-year sentence imposed for the "crime" of having said that Franco could not win. There is the case of the sixty-year-old Frenandez Villanueva, head of the Madrid Post Office, condemned to thirty years in jail for having continued his work under the Republican government.

The following event, witnessed by the American prisoners, will give some idea of the prison treatment:

"In August, 1938, 300 new prisoners in preventative-arrest reached the Burgos jail. One of them, unaware of the rules, removed his shirt to wash himself. The guard hit him. The other prisoners protested. For this offense ten of the prisoners were condemned to death by General Varela; the others were penalized by being required to stand at attention for eight hours daily for one month and two hours less each succeeding month."

The repression continues with even more fury. There is haste to fulfil the demands of Franco's slogan: The liquidation of the "two million who are a source of trouble." In Barcelona twelve Councils of War have been set up where formerly there were four, with the aim of speeding up the pending trials.

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Evidently the "Nationalists" are in a hurry to get rid of their victims.

The persecution extends to non-republican groups. In the Basque country priests are being jailed and the spirit of vengeance is rampant. The subject nationalities are being persecuted with equal, if not greater, fury. This is especially true of Catalonia. Not only has its autonomy been abolished, but its industries are being removed, and attempts are made to wipe out its very culture. The use of the Catalonian language is forbidden. A priest of S. Feliu de Guisols was condemned to thirty years' imprisonment for preaching in Catalan. The Franco dictatorship threatens the life of the Catalonian people as a nationality.

It is important to emphasize that, in the orgy of crime and barbarism ravaging Spain, the Church is playing a very important role as an instigator of terror. The support given to Franco by the Church during the revolt is well known. Throughout both the Spanish war and "Franco's peace" this institution has been revealed as a terrible instrument for oppressing the people.

We need not elaborate on the active support which the Church gave to the preparation of the July uprising; of its sabotage of the Republic; of how, when the uprising began, the hierarchs of the Church, crucifix in one hand and rifle in the other, became active agitators of the Phalanx, blessed and participated in the massacres of Loyalists.

With the end of the war all the properties confiscated by the Republic have been returned to the Church and the Society of Jesus. The traditional relations between the Church and the State have been renewed with an annual subsidy of sixty million pesetas to the Church. The power of the Church has now been re-established and increased in all the public affairs of the country. The "apolitical" Vatican has been using the "Nationalist state" in an attempt to revive the "anti-Comintern pact."

All education is directed by the Church and the Phalanx; the songs of the Phalanx and the Foreign Legion comprise, with military training and Catholic prayers, the only "spiritual food" of the Spanish youth. There is an attempt to revive faith in miracles; any favorable event is attributed to a "saint" or a "virgin." The height of cynicism and shamelessness is evident in such rules as that in force in Ceuta, requiring the fascist salute of all who pass before the famous statue of Christ.

In the name of Christ and the "rechristianization of Spain" the Church has inspired the greatest repression recorded in history, a repression which is in direct opposition to the interests and the will of the Catholic masses of Spain.

Where are the "liberals and humanists" who shed profuse tears for the Polish and Finnish reactionaries? What humanitarian reasons hushed them into silence in face of the monstrous crimes perpetrated by Franco against the people that so valiantly and tenaciously defended freedom and democracy for more than two and a half years; the people that was brought to its present

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plight by the "non-intervention" of the "democratic" governments of the leading capitalist states? Why were these vociferous "lovers of democracy" silent when the French Government turned over hundreds of thousands of Spanish refugees to the vengeance of the Nationalist regime, or when the British Government handed millions of dollars to Franco, helping him to consolidate his power?

It is necessary to show clearly the traitorous role played by the leaders of the Second International. They defended the policy of "non-intervention" which strangled the Spanish Republic; they pleaded for "localizing the war," and against "provoking fascism"; they became the most vociferous pacifists while Spain was fighting bare-handed against the armed fascist hordes. And today these lackeys of finance capital are foremost apologists for the imperialist slaughter; they are furious in their agitation for an anti-Soviet war.

The leaders of the Second International resisted or sabotaged every effort in behalf of the national-revolutionary struggle in Spain. Today these same repulsive servants of imperialism approve the loans of the "democratic governments" to the "Nationalist" regime.

They leveled barrages of calumnies against the Soviet Union when it swept out the Trotskyite-Bukharinite "Fifth Column"; but they have not raised a voice, they have not taken a step, against the hundreds of thousands of murders committed by the Franco regime.

The laboring masses must exert every effort to halt the vicious terror of the Nationalist regime. It is especially important that the proletariat and the peoples of the Americas, and particularly of the United States, lend their most active solidarity to the Spanish people.

In the United States, the Francoists publish a magazine entitled *España Nueva*, in which the American people are insulted in the most filthy manner, in which each line is impregnated with the most vicious anti-Semitism. None the less, the Roosevelt government, which maintained the "embargo" against Loyalist Spain, pursues very friendly relations with Franco, having instantly recognized his government and facilitated his bloody dictatorship with a credit of $10,000,000.

After permitting and indeed abetting the defeat of Spanish democracy, the government of this country made haste to lift the embargo. It is ready, according to a report of the Associated Press of April 4, to extend further financial aid to Franco, this time with a credit of $86,000,000, apparently also in order to "defend democracy" by helping the executioner of Spanish democracy. The working class and the American people will perceive more clearly, in the light of the Spanish experience, the reactionary and imperialist character of the Roosevelt government.

The working class and the people of the United States have greatly helped the Spanish Republic, especially through the contribution of its best sons to the ranks of the Lincoln Battalion, many of whom gave their lives in defense of democracy and freedom; they must renew with even more vigor their aid to the

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Spanish people who, despite great suffering, continue their struggle. The American people should exert pressure to stop the terror in Spain and to open the doors of the United States to the Spanish and International Brigade refugees; it should extend all possible economic aid to those who have found refuge in other countries. The American people will thus stimulate the resistance of the Spanish people and their struggle for the reconquest of Spain.

The Heroism of the National-Revolutionary War Continues

Franco and his regime are hated by the people. Crime and terror, Franco's only weapons, far from intimidating the people, daily increase the intensity of this hatred and the desire for freedom. A constantly increasing number of people who did not sympathize with the republic are becoming discontented with the present situation. There are thousands of daily indications throughout the country that virtually all of Spain hates the present regime, and the people's desire for liberation grows daily. The manifestations of resistance are manifold. Despite coercion and threats, the immense majority of the population has shown solidarity with the persecuted, whom they hide in their homes with no question of their ideology, so long as they are Lefts. Collections are made for the prisoners, food is taken to the fugitives in the mountains. Hundreds of cases of sabotage occur daily in factories, on railroads, on ships, etc. The peasants hide their products, destroy them, or produce only what they need.

In the mountains of Andalusia and Galicia more than 50,000 workers and peasants continue to fight with the arms that they have held on to, despite attacks by the Civil Guard, Moors and Phalangists. They have been tempted with pardons, but the *guerrilleros*, betrayed a thousand times, not only by the "democracies" who gave birth to "non-intervention," but also by Spanish Social-Democratic leaders, Republicans and *Faiistas* (Anarchists), do not surrender. They often disguise themselves, according to reports of refugees who recently lived among them, as Civil Guards. Besides thus avoiding persecution more effectively, they have often been able to provoke dissension among the Civil Guards themselves. The whole people, including the so-called "people of order," helps them, as is shown in an article in the Oviedo newspaper, *La Region*, for January 17. Calling attention to the lack of interest in assisting the authorities, it says:

"This procedure may be comforting for those who accept it, but not for the consciences of those who, calling themselves 'people of order,' passively support the attacks against what is legally ordered and established."

A group of these *guerrilleros* in the mountains of Leon issue a hectograph newspaper entitled *Firmes* (Steadfast) and carrying in its masthead as a symbol the figure of a soldier with a naked bayonet.

According to reports received from France, it "is calculated that eight or ten persons daily cross the frontier." There is a case on record

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of an entire company, which was fortifying the Pyrenees—one hundred men with an officer and four sergeants—crossing over to France. At the end of 1939 the Town Council of Olot (Catalonia), composed of twelve Traditionalists and a Phalangist, fled en masse. In the North two hundred imprisoned priests were promised commutation of their sentences if they signed a statement that had been approved by the Bishop of that province, renouncing their sympathy with the Republicans. All refused to sign.

Terror will never subdue the Spanish people. Resistance, even among the most moderate strata, is increasing and becoming more widespread.

Fear of the people is shown in all the speeches of the Franco leaders, who insist "that the fighting is not yet over," and speak of the "underground forces." The fundamental antagonisms between the people on the one hand and the Phalanx, monarchist and clerical nuclei on the other, daily deepens and prevents the stabilization of the Franco regime.

Contradictions appear in the very groups which control the country. The differences between the Requetes (Carlists) and the Phalangists are well known. On many occasions they have broken out into armed conflict. At the same time, the clashes between the Phalanx and the monarchists daily become more important to official eyes. Although political unity was "realized" with the fusion, by decree, of all the groups into the Phalanx, it is known that the big capitalists and landlords and many of the outstanding military officials are working, with British support, to displace the Phalanx and to foist the monarchy once again on the country. These contradictions are reflected in the frequent changes in Ministries, the displacement of generals, and other shake-ups.

The Spanish People Will Fight Until Final Victory

One can judge from this picture of the situation in Spain after more than a year of Nationalist dictatorship that the post-war problems have not been solved but have even been aggravated. Many in foreign lands, who do not know the caliber of the Spanish people and who did not follow its great epochal struggle closely, have considered democratic Spain to be utterly vanquished. But they are mistaken. There is the Spanish camp of betrayers—the "Casadists," Prieto and other "Socialist" leaders, Martinez Barrios and the Republican leaders, the Anarchists, and the Trotskyite traitors, who lived in Spain during the war, but who were never linked to the people they despise and have traduced a thousand times. Today as emigrés playing the game of Franco and the imperialists instead of helping those in Spain who resist the tragic conditions, they pour out slanders against the Communists and the Soviet Union.

Despite their infamous campaign, they cannot destroy the love and gratitude which the immense majority of the Spanish people feels towards the Soviet Union. No honest Spaniard will ever forget that when the "democracies" put the noose of "non-intervention" around the neck

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of the Republic, it was only the Soviet Union who helped the Spanish people, not only morally, but also politically and materially. Soviet workers collected millions of rubles to send to the people of Spain, and millions of tons of food. Soviet sailors ran the gauntlet of the long voyage through a lane of enemies, risking their lives, as in the case of the *Komsomol,* which was sunk by the fascists. It was the great socialist fatherland which offered its free and happy land to thousands of Spanish children, giving them a tranquil home and a happy life.

On numerous occasions during the Spanish war the miserable Social-Democratic leaders, Anarchists, Republicans and the Trotskyite bandits were obliged to acknowledge publicly that only the Soviet Union was helping the Spanish people. Now they are trying to slander the Soviet Union in foreign lands so as to win their masters' approval. This only reveals them for what they are —lackeys of Franco and reaction with whom they are united in common hatred of a people's Spain and of the country of socialism.

They act as though the two and a half years of national-revolutionary war in Spain was just one more skirmish, that it is possible to "wipe it all off and start with a new slate"; they dream of "peaceful legal change"—to a monarchy or something similar—with the aid of "democratic" England and France, that they may return to Spain to practice "class collaboration" and "national harmony." In their infamous counter-revolutionary campaign they try to blame the sufferings of the people on "communism" and the Soviet Union. They strive to win the sympathy of Franco and Spanish reaction. They are the friends of the Social-Democrat, Besteiro, the traitor, who at his trial by the "Nationalists" said: "I was always more an enemy of the Communists than of the fascists." They are the comrades-in-arms of the Anarchist, Melchor Rodriguez, who, when the "Casadist Junta" abandoned Madrid, took over the City Hall, raised the Monarchist banner in the name of a group of traitors, and consummated the "official surrender" to another group of traitors, of the invincible city which could not be taken by Franco for more than two years.

Let the traitors shout against communism and the Soviet Union, let them act like Prieto, the capitulator, like filthy confidential agents of the imperialist police. The Spanish people know these men. The heroic people of Spain is paying with the death of thousands of its best sons for the betrayal which these scoundrels perpetrated.

The people of Spain call the concentrated hatred for Franco "silent communism"; the masses have learned that if communism is most persecuted by Franco, it is in communism that salvation lies. While the traitors march in the rabid advance guard of imperialist war and infamously work to divide the working class and the popular masses, the Communists of Spain, in the jails, concentration camps, factories, everywhere—despite bitter persecution—continue their work of clarifying to the Spanish people the real character of the war, fighting

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against terror and for solidarity with those persecuted. While the treacherous leaders of all the parties —Socialists, Republicans, Anarchists—sold out Spain's heroic people to the butcher Franco in the name of an "honorable peace" which has already cost hundreds of thousands of victims, the Spanish Communist Party fought up to the last moment to prevent the betrayal and surrender of the people. Today it can proudly claim the title of revolutionary vanguard of the Spanish people and its valiant working class. While the other parties have disbanded, the Communist Party continues to be the party of unity, the party of revolutionary firmness, the party of the people's liberation.

The unity of the masses within the country is nourished by the blood which has been shed. During the war, in the Franco zone all tendencies united and assumed the general title of "Lefts." The hope of those who lived there was based on the unity of the Republican zone. "If the People's Front is broken," they said, "we are lost."

Today even more than yesterday the people know the value of this unity which it will forge despite the traitors, no matter what their affiliation, or how they cover themselves with a "revolutionary" mantle.

The unmasking before our people and before the workers of the entire world of those who have always opposed or sabotaged unity is a most important task which the Communist Party of Spain is ready to fulfil.

It is very revealing, in this respect, that in the "Confessions" which the Social-Democrat Largo Caballero makes in a letter addressed to the renegade Bullejos, in which he defends himself against the accusations of his ex-colleague Prieto, he says:

"As for supporting communism, this is a joke. If the campaign for unification which I carried on before the war is here referred to, no doubt your wisdom did not keep you from understanding that it tended not to support communism, but rather to destroy the Communist Party, by submitting its elements, by then dispersed, to the discipline of the Spanish Workers Socialist Party."

Here is clearly reflected the Social-Democratic conception of unity. This is why the working class could not forge the weapon of victory, why it must carry out the most implacable struggle against all the Caballeros and Prietos, against all the Anarchist provocateurs and counter-revolutionary Trotskyites.

The Communist Party of Spain, today as yesterday, raises the banner of unity, stepped on and betrayed, the banner of the struggle against Franco terror, for the defense of the heroic Spanish people. The Communist Party maintains within the country and in emigration the principles of proletarian internationalism, of the struggle against imperialism and imperialist war, of solidarity with the champion of peace and freedom, the Soviet Union. It feels more linked than ever to the cause for which hundreds of thousands of self-sacrificing proletarian fighters have fallen and are falling in Spain, because it has unlimited faith in the Spanish

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people and in the victorious future of its cause.

No! The Spanish people is not conquered. It continues to fight for the triumph of the People's Republic. The Spanish people fought for two and a half years against powerful enemies and the treachery of the so-called "friends," and its defeat by the most shameful betrayal is only temporary. A people that has learned by experience the value of the People's Republic, that has enjoyed a regime of People's Front democracy and freedom — such a people can never be conquered.

That is why the Spanish people continues to fight under the most difficult conditions, to set an example for other peoples. Help for this people through the solidarity of the international working class, of all the progressive people of the world, must be powerfully demonstrated so as to encourage and support those who are giving up everything for freedom and progress.

Let the American workers and all enemies of reaction and the warmakers follow the example of unity and resistance set by the Spanish people!

The widespread discontent among the Spanish people is being increasingly organized by the Communist Party. Hatred of the regime grows daily, as Franco is forced to admit. The people are helping political prisoners. They are struggling against "fixed prices" and robbery of the peasantry. The working class is resisting the reduction of wages and slave conditions of labor. Unemployment, starvation, profiteering are not being passively accepted. The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, Comrade Jose Diaz, writes:

"By organizing and leading the struggle of the workers and peasants for their immediate concrete demands, by employing the most diverse forms of struggle of the working people against the exploiters and reactionaries, and by exposing the traitors of all shades, the Communist Party is enabling the masses to pass to a higher phase of the struggle."*

* *The Communist International*, 1940, No. 3, p. 193.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

TO READERS of *The Communist*:

I am writing, in collaboration with two others, a book-length biography of Charles E. Ruthenberg, founder of the Communist Party of the United States. This work, carried on under the supervision of the National Committee, is planned to be an important contribution to the history of the Communist Party, and, in conjunction with such biographical and autobiographical writings as William Z. Foster's *From Bryan to Stalin* and *Pages from a Worker's Life*, *Bill Haywood's Book*, Robert Minor's sketches of the life of Earl Browder, which appeared recently in the *Daily Worker*, and Mother Bloor's forthcoming autobiography, will put before the people of America the life stories of the heroes of American labor and particularly of its vanguard.

The work has been in progress for some six months and has now reached the stage when it is necessary to search everywhere for little-known but important material, particularly of the perishable kind to be found in letters and clippings—material invaluable to the biographer but, under present-day conditions, some thirteen years after Ruthenberg's death, rapidly disappearing.

My collaborators are Celia Kraft and Ann Rivington.

Through the columns of *The Communist* I am appealing to readers to send to me, in care of the Editor, letters from Ruthenberg, pamphlets or articles or leaflets by him, clippings about him, notebooks or other personal records of his, photographs, anecdotes and memories of him, descriptions of his appearance, and of his actions on historic occasions, information about his early life, his family, and his friends.

While much of this material may duplicate what already is available, nevertheless I am eager to receive and examine everything possible, for something of value can be gotten from every document and every recollection. I give my assurance that all such material will be scrupulously cared for, and returned to the sender in due time.

OAKLEY JOHNSON

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